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# **JPRS Report—**

## **China**

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**QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH]**  
**No 17, 1 September 1990**

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### Make Asian Games a Success, Win Honor for the Motherland

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[Article by Wu Shaozu (0124 4801 4371)]

[Text] The 11th Asian Games will be held in Beijing, the capital of our great motherland, on 22 September this year. In the history of Asian Games over the past 40 years, this is the first time that China has been the host country and the fifth time it has sent delegations to attend. Under the leadership of the CPC Central Committee and the State Council, with support of the people of the whole country, and with the assistance of the Olympic Council of Asia [OCA] and the International Olympic Committee [IOC], we are confident and determined in making the Asian Games a success, contributing to Asian sports and the Olympic movement, to unity and friendship, and to progress of the Asian people.

### Recalling the Past and Comparing It With the Present, We Are Full of Pride and Enthusiasm

The Asian Games is a large, comprehensive sports meet. The work done to sponsor the Asian Games is a great system of engineering. It involves politics, economy, culture, construction, transport, communications, commerce, the service trade, and many other fields. It is quite reasonable for people in the world to regard a large, comprehensive sports meet as a "ceremony for adults" in urban areas. Indeed, it reflects the degree of development and level of modernization of a city and also manifests the overall strength of a country.

Thanks to social progress, scientific and technological development, and upgrading of sports techniques over the past 50 years, international sports circles have set higher requirements and have become increasingly strict in selecting the locations for holding large, comprehensive sports meets. China obtained the right to sponsor the 11th Asian Games. Obviously, this is related directly or indirectly to the tremendous achievements scored in China's socialist construction since the PRC's founding, particularly the new situation created in initial prosperity of the motherland since reform and opening up, and the rapid development of China's sports.

People with knowledge of contemporary history know that the imperialist powers used gunboats to open the gateway to China 150 years ago. From then on, China was reduced to a semicolonial and semifeudal society, falling into the abyss of misery. China's compatriots were regarded as "sick men of Asia" and its society was badly devastated. At that time, many people with lofty ideals yearned for affluence in the state and nation, progress in science and education, and prosperity in culture and sports! However, how could we develop sports when the country was in a state of destruction? The organizers of the 1896 first Olympics issued an

invitation to China. However, the corrupt Qing government did not know what "sports" were. With 8,000 silver dollars donated by General Zhang Xueliang, Liu Changchun was sent alone to attend the 1932 Olympic Games held in Los Angeles. Although China managed to send sports delegations to Berlin and London in 1936 and 1948, respectively, the Chinese team could not get any medals at all. Moreover, foreign newspapers and magazines carried pictures of a "goose egg" to mock the Chinese team. Without funds to return, some members of the team, filled with grief and misery, had to wander destitute far from home. Facing the upcoming 11th Asian Games sponsored by China, the athletes of the elder generation recalled the past and compared it with the present. All sorts of feelings and myriad thoughts welled up their minds. Comrade Mou Zuolin, who joined the sports delegation to Berlin in 1936, contributed an article not long ago, saying, "As an athlete working in the sports circle for 30 years, I was so excited when informed that the OCA decided to hold the 11th Asian Games in China. It is the pride of the Chinese to hold such a grand sports meet. I feel proud and happy! My cherished wish 50 years ago has come true at last!"

As expressed by young people, the significance of holding the Asian Games is not so extensive and profound compared with the adults and elderly, who have experienced the hardships of life, because understanding of the latter is based on personal experience and a striking contrast. With history as a reference, we can see how China was humiliated and invaded by other countries and how the Chinese nation resisted aggression and oppression by the imperialists and their running dogs and strived for independence, freedom, democracy, and prosperity. We can become more sober-minded and reasonable and profoundly understand the truth that only socialism can save China by reading Lin Zexu's warning, "As the spread of opium can cause great harm, we should be strict in enforcing the law. If we allow it to spread unchecked, after a few decades we will have no money to pay for the Army and have no armed forces in the central plain to resist enemies." It was under the leadership of the CPC that the Chinese compatriots could gain a foothold among the family of nations and the country could enjoy high international prestige. In a sense, making the 11th Asian Games a success reflects the steps taken by China on the road of history and manifests the determination of the Chinese Government in carrying out reform and opening up and the image of the Chinese people in making unremitting efforts.

### Seize the Theme of Patriotism

In an inscription to the sports circles, General Secretary Jiang Zemin wrote: "Develop physical culture and revitalize the Chinese nation." During an inspection tour of Beijing, Premier Li Peng proposed making the Asian Games a success and winning honor for Beijing and the motherland. At the propaganda work conference for the 11th Asian Games held not long ago, Comrade Li Ruihuan urged the participants to fully understand the great significance of the 11th Asian Games held in

China, seize the opportunity to do a good job of Asian Games propaganda, unite the people of the whole country, boost the national spirit, consolidate and develop the overall situation of nationwide stability, and promote the building of material and spiritual civilization. We should earnestly implement the spirit of the directives made by leading comrades of the central authorities and firmly grasp the theme of patriotism.

The history of the Asian and Olympic Games tells us that all host nations attempt to arouse the patriotic spirit of the people through the grand sports meet. Moreover, almost all the Asian and Olympic Games have produced great centripetal force. Following the Tokyo Olympic Games, Japan mobilized its people to unite and change the country's image as a defeated nation. At the opening ceremony of the Los Angeles Olympic Games, thousands of Americans displayed the picture of a U.S. map on the sports ground. Airplanes also scattered the letters U.S.A. in the air. U.S. newspapers and periodicals said that the XXIII Olympic Games increased the "sense of America" and "boosted the pioneering spirit of the American people"; and that the torch rally across the 50 states "kindled the patriotic spirit rather than people's enthusiasm for the Olympiad." During a meeting with a South Korean entrepreneur, I asked him, "What was your purpose in sponsoring the Asian and Olympic Games?" He wrote the following in Chinese: "National unity, patriotic spirit, economic development, and fame of the country." There are many similar examples in India, Thailand, and Indonesia. Thus it can be seen that there has always been a universal, inseparable relationship between sports and patriotism. Proceeding from nihilism, some people wrote articles of criticism saying that it is the "Ah Q spirit" to link sports with patriotism. Therefore, prejudices are further from truth than is ignorance. Naturally, we do not advocate simply linking the outcome of the games to patriotism. Nevertheless, we should and are also capable of carrying forward the national spirit, increasing the centripetal force of the nation, and further arousing the pride of the sons and daughters of the Chinese nation through developing sports, particularly holding such a grand, international sports meet.

In the course of preparing for the 11th Asian Games, the patriotic enthusiasm of the Chinese people, especially those in the capital, is obvious to all. There are many moving stories in the building of the Asian Games Village, Olympic Sports Center, Fengtai Sports Center, and other stadiums; in the renovation of five bridges and highways and 100 streets; in making the city green and beautiful and pooling funds; in the training of athletes and production of sports goods; and in security, transportation, and communications. Inspired by the Asian Games spirit of "dedication, plain living and hard struggle, unity and cooperation, and striving for the best results," many people worked hard with great enthusiasm and dedicated their wisdom and talent. Taking the situation as a whole into consideration, they practiced economy and diligence and did their utmost to support

the state in making the Asian Games a success. Take the pooling of funds for example. Donations and contributions from centenarians to children aged seven or eight, from battle-tested veterans to ordinary people, from large mines and enterprises to individuals, and from the busy cities to the remote villages have become a warm patriotic current. Under poor material conditions, the spirit of dedication and heightened awareness of the Asian Games shown by the Chinese people are indeed commendable. Hence, we should attach great importance to and highly appraise this spirit and sense. This also reminds us of cherishing and reasonably using every cent with a high sense of responsibility.

The 1990's, the key decade for China's development, will be one of continuously advancing and winning greater victories on the basis of the major successes achieved in the 1980's. To do a better job of economic improvement and rectification and deepening reform, it is especially necessary at present to maintain social stability and boost the national spirit. Firmly grasping the theme of patriotism, we should increase the self-esteem and confidence of the nation and further create a social atmosphere of stability and harmony through the preparations made for holding the Asian Games, and display to Asia and the world the diligence, courage, unity, and peace-loving nature of the Chinese people. Sponsoring the Asian Games is a means as well as an indication of social stability. Since the checking of the turmoil and quelling of the counterrevolutionary rebellion in Beijing, a series of activities focused on the preparatory work for the Asian Games have played a positive role in mitigating social contradictions, pacifying the masses, and promoting stability and unity. Meanwhile, the people are mobilized and encouraged to overcome all the difficulties on the road of advance and to build the country through hard work. The tremendous changes in Beijing, the spirit of the Asian Games which ran high, the feeling for the capital which struck root in the hearts of the people, and China's situation of stability and unity have left a deep impression on foreign friends and Hong Kong and Macao compatriots who came to inspect the Asian Games facilities over the year. They are fully confident in the success of the 11th Asian Games.

#### Promote the Building of Spiritual Civilization

Sports constitute an important part and a means of building spiritual civilization. There is a traditional practice at both the Olympic and Asian Games; that is, a series of scientific, cultural, and entertainment activities carried out in the host nation. For example, the current Asian Games has an art festival, Asian sports science conference, and all kinds of exhibitions and entertainment. This also manifests spiritual civilization from one aspect. Through sponsoring the Olympic or Asian Games, it is all the more important to organize the whole society to take an active part in various service work in the capacity as masters, educate the masses of the people to greet friends from all parts of the world with a

brand-new spiritual outlook, and display from various aspects the fine tradition and lofty character of the Chinese nation.

The long history of seclusion of feudal society ruthlessly widened the gap between ourselves and a modern society. The policies of reform and opening up since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee have enabled us to embark on the international arena and strengthen our relations with other countries. The current Asian Games has provided us with another opportunity to increase contacts with the outside world. We should offer fine services to the work and living, which include clothing, food, and accommodations, of tens of thousands of athletes, coaches, judges, sports officials, reporters, and visitors who have gathered in Beijing. Social order, urban transportation, communications, radio and television, cultural amusements, medical services, and commodity supply constitute a rigorous test for all trades. In organizational command, we should be strict and in perfect order. All factors and working personnel at various posts should be active and highly efficient. While receiving the guests, we should be enthusiastic, considerate, and neither overbearing nor servile. All this is related to the smooth progress of work for the Asian Games. It also reflects the basic qualities and moral values of the Chinese people.

The organization committee of the Asian Games proposed "fine service, beautiful environment, and good order." This is the general requirement for the building of spiritual civilization. To meet this requirement, all trades and professions should, in light of their own characteristics, earnestly lay down and strictly enforce the norms of conduct of their own trade. As the Asian Games is an international sports meet, the relevant stipulations of the international sports organizations should be taken into account for our norms of conduct. As the guests come from all parts of the world, we should also respect their different customs and religions. Only by doing so can the guests realize that the Chinese people are warm and hospitable, know more about the customs of the Chinese nation, and feel that they are at home.

The Beijing Municipality party committee and government have paid great attention to the building of spiritual civilization in the capital. With the concerted efforts of the party, government, Army, and people over the year, marked changes have been made in the outlook of the city, and the social general mood has improved. The Asian Games is like a big school, enabling us to approach new fields that we had never before approached and to acquire new knowledge we had never before learned. In the activities of "offering fine services in three aspects," the people of the capital showed their great revolutionary enthusiasm and displayed their wisdom and talent. It is correct for the leading comrades of the central authorities to stress that "everyone is the host." Besides taking part in or watching the games, the guests from all parts of the world will also take a look around and get some idea of China's scenic spots. Thus, they will get in touch with people of various trades and professions. Before foreign

guests, we should think that we, Chinese and citizens of Beijing, must fulfill our duty as the host nation. All our words and deeds should be worthy of the prestige of our great socialist motherland and the Chinese nation. The slogan "Asian Games winning honor for the nation and adding luster to the Asian Games" reflects the common voice of the Chinese people. Numerous facts have proved that the Chinese people have the cardinal principles in mind and take the overall situation into account. Intelligent and capable, they have a sense of responsibility and duty to their country and nation. They will certainly be able to serve as good hosts.

Looking back on the history of sports competition, the experience of the countries and regions in sponsoring Asian or Olympic Games tells us that the grand, comprehensive sports meet can promote economic and social development and the building of spiritual civilization in the host city. We have every reason to believe that the 11th Asian Games will enable more foreign friends to know and understand China. It will bring us closer to the world, increase our understanding of the world, increase the extent of spiritual civilization in the capital, and upgrade its position among the world's large cities.

Naturally, the building of spiritual civilization is a long process and a major event related to the destiny of the nation. On the one hand, we should adopt a positive attitude and not be eager for quick success; and on the other hand, we should consolidate the achievements of spiritual civilization attained at the Asian Games and carry them forward so that they can play a long-term role in the building of socialist modernization and in the livelihood of the masses of the people. If all fronts and various trades and professions can continue to carry forward the fine ideology, morality, style, and behavior after the sacred fire of the Asian Games has gone out, the achievements of the 11th Asian Games will be brilliant and the significance will be great and far-reaching.

#### Compete Fairly, Unite and Struggle Hard, and Strive To Raise the Level of Sports

Through witnessing personally or on television screens over the years, a number of compatriots have admired the beautiful stadiums and gymnasiums, advanced electronic and technological equipment, and fine service and facilities of Olympic and Asian Games offered by the host nations. They wished that their own motherland could have enough stadiums and gymnasiums of international standards to one day greet the athletes of other countries. We can now say that this wish has basically come true. On 29 April 1990, the most important chapter of the Asian Games projects was finished: Construction and renovation of 55 stadiums for training purposes has been completed. This is a major event in the history of China's sports as well as in Beijing's urban construction. Through repeated inspection and trial operation, further measures have been taken against the problems discovered so as to seek perfection.

The athletes are actors at the Games' sports ground. The member organizations of the Olympic Council of Asia are now stepping up pre-Games training. The Chinese sports delegation, composed of some 800 athletes, coaches, judges, officials, and working personnel, announced its establishment on 12 June. Before last winter's training, we organized 1,500 athletes to undergo training which was hard, strict, and geared to the needs of actual sports and which conformed to the principle of scientific training. Meanwhile, ideological education, education in revolutionary tradition, and military training were also conducted. The athletes and coaches were greatly inspired when party and government leaders, including Jiang Zemin and Li Peng, went to the training field to watch the training. Since spring, the training teams have taken part in some formal games and practice events at home and abroad. Now they have plunged into intense summer training. Determined to attain achievements in both competition and spiritual civilization, the Chinese sports delegation will take part in all 27 events and the two sports exhibitions.

As the host nation of the current Asian Games, we are trying to create the best conditions for Asian athletes to display their sports talent. With the international and Olympic spirit, we will offer an environment for all athletes to take part in "fair competition." We hope that the athletes from Asia will present themselves in the best condition and fully display their sports talent. We will be happy to see outstanding achievements scored by athletes, no matter which country or region they come from. The Olympiad has two noted slogans: One is "Faster, higher, and stronger," and the other is "Participation is better than winning." These two slogans complement each other, dialectically revealing the inside information of sports competition. If competition were confused with ordinary get-togethers and without "faster, higher, and stronger," sports would be deprived of its extensiveness and lose its appeal and centripetal force. In view of this point, the organization committee of the 11th Asian Games attached great importance to and earnestly implemented the purpose of the Asian Games, that is, "Unity, friendship, and progress." For example, to display the events which are the strong points of some Asian countries, we included in the Asian Games rattan ball and kabbadi, which were never played in China, and boxing, in which China is weak. One of our essential purposes is to upgrade Asia's sports, promote understanding between the countries, regions, and people, and increase mutual unity and friendship through the current Asian Games.

Looking back on the large international sports meet, it is the moral values of athletes, spiritual outlook of working personnel, and scores that have left an impression on the people. For this reason, China's sports circles have always proposed "giving a good account of athletic level and displaying fine sportsmanship." Coubertin, founder of the contemporary Olympic movement, wrote in *Ode to Sports*: "Sports, you are peace! You have established a bridge of friendship between various nationalities, radiating brilliance from fair competition. You have enabled

young people to learn from and respect each other, and have made social values more lofty!" We hope that all teams from Asia will, as always, carry forward the lofty sports spirit and prevent incidents that violate the values of sports. Historical experience merits attention. An incident that took place at the 1936 Berlin Olympic Games and spread to the present still gives us great enlightenment. Motivated by racial discrimination, the fascist ringleader Hitler, while presenting the 100-meter-dash medal, refused to shake hands with Owens, the black athlete from the United States. When Owens was taking part in the long jump preliminary contest later, Hitler again looked at him with loathing and hate. Because of mental pressure, his first attempt was foul. He did not score good marks at the second attempt. If he had failed in the third attempt, it would have been impossible for him to enter the finals. At this moment, the German athlete Lutz Lang stepped forward and encouraged Owens in a friendly manner. Moved by this, Owens boosted his confidence and succeeded in the third attempt. At the long jump finals, Owens captured the title with the highest scores while Lutz Lang was the second runner-up. From then on, the two of them forged a profound friendship, which became a story told far and wide. However, Hitler, who did all kinds of evil, was notorious in the political arena and also left a shameful impression in the history of sports. The mirror of history reminds people to respect the lofty value of sports and correctly deal with winning and losing, and competition and friendship.

We are now getting closer to the opening of the Asian Games. The attention of Asia and the world is focused on Beijing. We will hand over a large test paper to let the world see the ideals, pursuit, intelligence, diligence, discipline, order, hospitality, and organizational ability of the Chinese people. If we can seize this historical opportunity and make the Asian Games a success, we will get another historical opportunity, that is, holding the 2000 Olympic Games. If we can give full play to various functions of sports, push China's economic and social development forward, promote national unification and people's unity, and further arouse the whole country to struggle for realizing the four modernizations and revitalizing the Chinese nation through the current Asian Games, we will be able to get a better social environment for the development of China's sports and accelerate our pace to embark on the stage of world sports.

### **Hold High the Banner of Patriotism, Develop the Cause of Nationality Unity and Progress**

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[Article by Wang Qun (3769 5028) and Buhe (1580 6378)]

[Text] In his speech entitled "Patriotism and the Mission of the Chinese Intellectuals," Comrade Jiang Zemin issued a great call to intellectuals and also the entire

people of all nationalities throughout the country to keep and carry forward the patriotic tradition. Studying and implementing the spirit of Comrade Jiang Zemin's speech, holding high the banner of patriotism, firmly safeguarding the motherland's unity, and further advancing the cause of nationality unity and progress is the common desire and a great and glorious task of the whole party and the people of all nationalities in our country.

I

Patriotism represents the people's deepest and highest feelings toward the motherland formed during the long course of historical development. It not only finds expression in the love of the mountains and rivers and the natural sceneries, the material products and resources, the historical tradition, and the culture and arts of the motherland, but also finds expression in a more important aspect, that is, in linking the interests and destiny of a nationality and an individual to the interests and destiny of the whole nation, in concerning oneself deeply with the national interests and destiny, in ardently pursuing the nation's bright future, and in showing a dedicated spirit toward the motherland. In our country's history, patriotism has always been a banner for arousing and inspiring the people of all nationalities to fight in unity, and has been the common spiritual pillar of the people of all nationalities. Patriotism has played a great role in maintaining the unification of the country and the unity of all nationalities, resisting external aggression, and promoting social progress. The Chinese Communists are not only great proletarian internationalists but also great patriots. Patriotism advocated by the CPC is in keeping with the orientation of historical development and with the fundamental interests of the people of all nationalities. Under the leadership of the CPC today, all nationalities in China love the socialist motherland more profoundly and ardently than in all previous periods in history, and this is the valuable spiritual wealth of the Chinese nation.

Patriotism is the strong spiritual pillar for safeguarding the country's unification. The forming of a unified and multinational country in China was not determined by the will of any individual statesmen or other accidental factors in history. Instead, it was the inevitable result of the fact that in the course of historical development, all nationalities lived in harmony, jointly developed the same land, and kept close economic and cultural relations. So this was the common selection made by the people of all nationalities, and represented the objective regularity of social development in China. All nationalities need the motherland and cannot be separated from the motherland; the motherland also needs all nationalities and cannot be separated from any one of them. Without the motherland, a nationality will lose its backing; without various nationalities, the motherland will no longer exist. When the whole country is unified and powerful, all nationalities will be prosperous and will develop, and the people will be able to live and work in peace and contentment; but if the country is divided,

poor, and weak, then all nationalities will languish in poverty and unrest and the people will live in misery. In the eventful course of historical development, the interests and destiny of all nationalities in China have been closely linked to the interests and destiny of the whole country, and the great sentiment of patriotism was thus developed continuously and became a huge rallying force to maintain the motherland's unification. It was this force that inspired the people of all nationalities throughout the country to fight bravely against the imperialist powers that tried to carve up the territory of China and to defend the motherland's sovereignty and territorial integrity. In this struggle, they sacrificed their lives and one stepped into the breach as another fell, thus composing a magnificent and brilliant chapter in China's modern history. It was this force that inspired the Chinese Communists to combine the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution and to seek the sole correct socialist road of winning national independence and acquiring national power and wealth through overthrowing the three big mountains. It was this force that impelled the people of all nationalities to jointly establish and build the socialist republic, in which they are all masters of the state, to realize an unprecedented degree of national unity, and to display the new state's great vigor. Over the past more than 40 years, the CPC was the loyal representative of the interests of the people of all nationalities. The party led the socialist people's republic, represented the fundamental interests of the people of all nationalities, pursued nationality autonomy in localities inhabited by minority nationalities, and took this as an important political system and a basic policy, adhered to the basic principle of nationality equality, nationality unity, and common prosperity among all nationalities, and brought about an earthshaking change in economic and cultural construction of various nationalities in the whole country. The Chinese nation now stands strongly in the East and has achieved an unprecedented degree of national dignity and pride. Inner Mongolia has also changed its previous look characterized by social stagnation and economic backwardness. In the past 43 years, the gross social production in Inner Mongolia increased 26.2 times; gross income increased 21.2 times; total industrial and agricultural output value increased 21.4 times; cultural and educational undertakings also developed substantially; and living standards and health conditions of the people were improved fundamentally. Facts told us it was the unification of the socialist motherland that brought today's happy life to the people of all nationalities and that patriotism was the source of the invincible force to defend the motherland's unification and integrity and to develop socialism.

Maintaining nationality unity is an inevitable requirement of patriotism. All nationalities in China have been jointly working to develop the broad territory of the motherland and develop the economy and culture of the motherland, and they have jointly built the socialist New China. All nationalities, no matter how much population they have and to what degree their economies and

cultures have developed, have made valuable contributions to the motherland's progress and development, and are equal members of the big family in the motherland. They all have deep feelings toward the motherland and all dearly cherish the close unity of all nationalities. The solid unity of all nationalities in our country constitutes a basic condition for carrying out the party's basic line in an all-around way, constantly taking economic construction as the central work, constantly upholding the four cardinal principles, and carrying on reform and continuing to open up. It is also the basic precondition for maintaining stability and ensuring that the people of all nationalities join hands in building socialist modernization with one heart and one mind. All nationalities can achieve common prosperity and make common progress only through helping each other, learning from each other, and consolidating their close unity. At present, our country has increased its comprehensive national strength and has achieved a weighty and influential position in the international community. Its further development and prosperity will provide the basic guarantee for the great unity of all nationalities in the whole country. Innumerable facts show that unity will make the country strong and division will make the country weak. To love the motherland, one must safeguard nationality unity. Patriots who have national self-esteem and who hope for the motherland's unification and prosperity are all keen on consolidating the great unity of all nationalities. In the more than 2,000 years before the founding of the PRC, although the exploiting class created estrangement and conflicts between various nationalities in order to maintain its reactionary rule, the people of all nationalities still developed their fraternal relations in the course of working and living together and jointly advancing social development in the motherland. Unity has always been the essence and mainstream of the relationship among all nationalities in China. All nationalities in China are always loyal to the motherland, and they always rely on and support each other, sharing the same honor or disgrace. This historical trend in which the unity of all nationalities gets closer and closer will not be changed by any force. This is also the basic reason for our motherland's increasing strength and stability despite all twists and turns it has made. The CPC, which aims at rescuing the motherland, emancipating the people, developing the nation, and making the people wealthy, is able to wholly and deeply grasp the internal linkage between patriotism and the great unity of all nationalities, and is dedicating itself to the cause of nationality unity and progress with a high degree of patriotic spirit. From the period of the new democratic revolution to the new period of socialist modernization construction, the party put forward and implemented a series of proposals and policies for consolidating and developing nationality equality, nationality unity, and common prosperity of all nationalities. After the socialist revolution eliminated the economic base and the social factors which caused nationality estrangement, nationality oppression, and nationality exploitation, a reliable economic base and superstructure were built to ensure equality, unity, mutual assistance, and friendship

among all nationalities and to develop their new-type relations, and this gave rise to a brand-new situation in our country's nationalities relations and ensured that nationality unity was always solid and unbreakable. At present, there is an unprecedented solid foundation and favorable conditions for the great unity of all nationalities in China. History and reality both require us to further hold high the great banner of patriotism and advance the cause of nationality unity and progress to a new stage.

## II

In order to hold high the banner of patriotism and develop the cause of nationality unity and progress, we must firmly promote the common prosperity of all nationalities. The common prosperity of all nationalities means that all nationalities should be able to make political, economic, and cultural developments at the same time. Among nationality equality, nationality unity, and the common prosperity of all nationalities, equality and unity are the preconditions for the common prosperity of all nationalities; the purpose of maintaining nationality equality and nationality unity is also to seek common prosperity and make common progress among all nationalities. At the same time, the common prosperity of all nationalities will provide the necessary material and mental foundation for nationality equality and nationality unity. The two sides are complementary and support each other. According to the Marxist viewpoint, economic relations constitute the foundation for relations between nationalities, and the development and consolidation of nationality relations are contingent on the development and consolidation of economic relations between various nationalities. In our country, as a result of various natural, geographical, and historical factors, some localities are inhabited jointly by several nationalities or some nationalities live in compact communities in some other localities, and a traditional division of work also exists among various nationalities. This determines the necessity of the great unity of all nationalities in China based on their interdependent economic relations. At present, nationality relations in our country are more harmonious and the people's unity is more solid than in any previous historical period. The fundamental reason is the realization of the socialist public ownership system and the establishment of the political system that ensures the equality of all nationalities and makes the people of all nationalities masters of the socialist state. However, we must also notice that, although the economic and cultural gap between various nationalities has narrowed substantially, the gap in the economic, cultural, and other fields—the legacy of several thousand years of history—remains between various nationalities in China. This is an important reason why the nationality problem still exists under the socialist conditions. At the national meeting attended by local nationality affairs commission directors in February this year, Comrade Li Peng profoundly explained this thesis in his speech. He said, "At present, the nationality problem in our country finds expression mainly in the

urgent demand of the localities inhabited mainly by minority nationalities for quickening their economic and cultural construction." Therefore, in order to consolidate and develop nationality unity, we must quicken economic and cultural development in the comparatively backward areas inhabited by minority nationalities and to promote the common prosperity of all nationalities. This is a requirement of the common interests of the entire Chinese nation, and is also the foundation for social and political stability in the nationality areas and the whole nation's long-lasting peace and order. The party central leadership has repeatedly stressed the need to concentrate all strength to boost economic construction. We should fully understand the great significance of the central instructions. We should not take economic construction as a mere economic task, but should also take it as a major political task. Only through greatly developing the economic and cultural undertakings in the nationality areas, continuously raising the standards of material and cultural lives of the people of all nationalities, and continuing to advance along the course of seeking common development and common prosperity of all nationalities, can a reliable guarantee be provided for the great unity of all nationalities.

The development of the nationality areas and the common prosperity and common progress of all nationalities must be based on the development and prosperity of the whole country. Only when the whole country develops and becomes prosperous can the development and prosperity of the minority nationalities and the areas inhabited by minority nationalities be realized. Similarly, only when the areas inhabited by minority nationalities continue to develop and become prosperous can the whole country's development and prosperity be expedited. The minority nationalities in our country live mostly in the border areas, which are vast in territory and rich in resources. From the long-term and strategic viewpoint, the development of resources and economic development in the areas inhabited by minority nationalities will provide the long-lasting momentum and determine the future prospects of economic development in the whole country. Therefore, the state authorities and the comparatively developed localities must attach great importance to helping and assisting the nationality areas to make economic, cultural, scientific, and technological progress and development; the areas inhabited by minority nationalities should also concentrate their efforts on greatly developing their economic and cultural undertakings. Since the policy for reform and opening up was adopted, the vigorously developing transregional economic association in our country not only reflected the initiative of various nationalities and various localities in our country in helping and assisting each other under the new historical conditions, but also gave profound expression to the further development of interdependent and integrated economic relations between various nationalities and various localities. They make use of each other's strong points to overcome their own shortcomings and achieve the purpose of mutual benefit. The strong point of the nationality areas

is their rich resources; and the strong point of the developed areas is their possession of more funds and advanced technologies. The development of extensive economic cooperation between these two types of areas has promoted economic and cultural prosperity and development in the areas inhabited mainly by minority nationalities and among the minority nationalities. At the same time, this has also promoted the modernization process in the developed areas and in the whole country. To expedite economic and cultural development in nationality areas, the people of all nationalities in these areas should carry forward the self-reliant, hard-working, and pioneering spirit. This is the internal force for economic and cultural development in these areas. Only by relying on this force can these areas cultivate and strengthen their own vigor and can the assistance from the state and from the advanced areas play a more effective role.

The areas inhabited by minority nationalities constitute an inseparable part of the great motherland, and the resources in these areas are jointly owned by all citizens of the PRC. The state's decision to develop resources in the nationality areas is a need in socialist modernization construction, and is in keeping with the common interests of the people of all nationalities in the whole country. Our cadres and the masses in the minority nationality areas should profoundly understand the coincidence of the national interests and the interests of the local nationalities, and should give priority consideration to the overall and long-term interests when handling things concerning both the national interests and local interests and when approaching long-term and immediate interests. We should advocate a spirit of dedication. We warmly welcome and support the state's decision to develop our local resources and start construction projects according to the laws. Along with the in-depth development of socialist modernization construction and the further implementation of the policy for economic improvement, rectification, and profound reform, in the course of adjusting the industrial structure, the state will begin more energy and raw material production projects, build more transport facilities, and develop more agricultural, forestry, and animal husbandry projects in the nationality areas in a planned way according to long-term development strategies. This will not only create better conditions for the sustained, stable, and harmonious development of the national economy, but will also provide a good opportunity for the nationality areas and the minority nationalities to further their development and prosperity. After the founding of New China, the state successively built the large-scale iron and steel complex in Baotou, the forest zone in Daxinganling Mountains, and a number of key projects for producing coal, electric power, and oil in Inner Mongolia. A large number of cadres and people of Han nationality and other fraternal nationalities came to Inner Mongolia to join the people of Mongolian nationality and other minority nationalities in carrying out construction in this region, thus increasing this region's economic strength, consolidating the great unity of all

nationalities in this region, and also promoting the economic and cultural progress of the Mongolian nationality and other minority nationalities. Practice in the past several decades showed that development of resources by the state and carrying out construction in the nationality areas according to the laws was favorable to the development of economic construction in the whole country and also provided favorable and necessary conditions for the nationality areas to seek development and prosperity and to rapidly catch up with the developed areas.

### III

To hold high the banner of patriotism and to develop the cause of nationality unity and progress, we must continue to conduct widespread education in the nationality theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and in the party's nationality policy among cadres and the masses of all nationalities. The nationality theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought is an important component of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and is the theoretical foundation of the guideline for solving the nationality issue in our country. The party's nationality policy is the fundamental guarantee for all nationalities' unity and progress. Through extensive education in this respect, we will help cadres and the masses of all nationalities further deeply understand and firmly hold the basic viewpoints of the nationality theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. These viewpoints include that the nationality issue is part of the general issue in the proletarian revolution and in the socialist period it is part of the general issue in socialist revolution and construction; that the nationality issue will exist for a long time in the socialist period, and it is basically an issue within the scope of contradictions among the people, but if it is not handled properly, the contradictions may intensify and may even give rise to a certain form of antagonism; that the socialist period is a period in which all nationalities can live in harmony and make common progress and development; that the exercise of autonomy in the nationalities areas is a great creative policy and the only policy that is suited to the national conditions in our country; that all nationalities in the big family of our country enjoy equal rights in all fields and must also undertake the duty of safeguarding the motherland's unification and nationality unity; and so on. This will continuously enhance the consciousness of cadres and the masses of all nationalities in carrying out the party's nationality policy, and will provide the ideological guarantee for continuously developing the cause of nationality unity and progress.

It is necessary to make the people of all nationalities fully aware of the coincidence of loving their own nationalities and loving the motherland and the socialist system through conducting education in the nationality theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and in the party's nationality policy. The differences in languages, customs, mentalities, and geographical characteristics of the living environment between various nationalities determine that each nationality has its own special

sentiments. The existence of such differences is inevitable in the socialist period and should be fully respected. In such a united multinational socialist country as ours, the state's interests represent the common interests of all nationalities; and the common goal pursued by all nationalities is the objective the state will strive to achieve. Therefore, to love one's own nationality, one should first love the motherland and socialism. In contemporary China, patriotism and socialism coincide in essence. The socialist system provides the reliable guarantee and the bright prospects for the development of social productive forces and social progress in our country. The future and destiny of the socialist motherland are closely linked to the future and destiny of all nationalities in China. If the two sides are severed from one another or set against one another, this will not only impair the national interests, but will also fundamentally harm the interests of one's own nationality. Therefore, the love of one's own nationality should be fused with the love of the motherland and the love of socialism, and the love of the motherland and socialism should be turned into energetic efforts for seeking the common and fundamental interests of all nationalities.

According to Marxism, the basic content of nationality unity first requires the proletarian unity of all nationalities. The proletariat is the most advanced class in human history, and it represents the interests of the people of all nationalities and can lead them to strive for their own interests. The CPC is the vanguard organization of the Chinese proletariat and is the leadership core of the people of all nationalities in the whole country. Party leading cadres at all levels are leaders of the people of all nationalities in carrying out revolution and construction. Therefore, in order to consolidate the unity of all nationalities, it is first necessary to strengthen intra-party unity, especially the unity of leading cadres at all levels and of cadres of all nationalities. This is the core of the unity of the people of all nationalities in the whole country. Only through intraparty unity and the unity of cadres of all nationalities can we consolidate and promote the unity of the people of all nationalities. Therefore, conducting education in the nationality theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and the party's nationality policy among cadres of all nationalities is of great significance. We must make cadres of all nationalities understand that no matter what nationalities they belong to, party cadres are all public servants for the people, so they must give consideration first to the state interests and the common interests of the people of all nationalities when handling affairs and must consistently safeguard the motherland's unification and the common interests of the people of all nationalities and seriously implement the line, principles, and policies of the party and the state in light of their local conditions. The attitude toward the motherland's unification and nationality unity is a major criterion for judging a Communist Party member's party spirit and a cadre's revolutionary consciousness. It is also a touchstone to test whether a person is sincere in supporting socialism and loving the motherland. From the years of

war to the period of peaceful construction, our party has cultivated a large number of minority nationality cadres with communist consciousness. They have a high degree of proletarian political consciousness and are outstanding elements in the minority nationalities. They form the ties between the party and the masses of minority nationalities, and put in practice the party's line, principles, policies, and laws in the nationality areas. They have made important contributions to the motherland's unification, the unity and progress of all nationalities, and the economic and cultural prosperity of the nationality areas under the guidance of the nationality theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. The historical mission of the proletariat, the prolonged existence of the nationality issue, and the importance of prosperity in the nationality areas all require the party and the state to continue to make great efforts to cultivate and use minority nationality cadres with both ability and political integrity, and bring their socialist enthusiasm, initiative, and creativity into full play. At the same time, cadres of Han nationality should also be fully encouraged to show revolutionary enthusiasm and a dedicated spirit toward the cause of reform and construction among the people of all other nationalities. Intellectuals of all nationalities, as a contingent of the working class engaged mainly in mental work, also play an important role in safeguarding and promoting the cause of nationality unity and progress. It is necessary to further enhance the consciousness of intellectuals of all nationalities in upholding the nationality theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and implementing the party's nationality policy, to further arouse their enthusiasm for contributing their intelligence and wisdom to the cause of nationality unity and progress, and to encourage them to play a greater role in promoting the great unity of all nationalities in the whole country and promoting the motherland's stability and prosperity. This has always been and will continue to be an important aspect of our nationality work, and we must continue to do a good job in this respect. With cadres and intellectuals of all nationalities working with one heart and one mind to serve the people of all nationalities wholeheartedly, then we will be able to more effectively carry out the party's nationality policy and implement the "Law of Autonomy in Nationality Areas," thus promoting the great unity of all nationalities and the common prosperity of all nationalities.

Conducting education in the nationality theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and the party's nationality policy among young people and children is a strategic task for consolidating and developing nationality unity and safeguarding the motherland's unification. Young people and children are the future of the country and the successors to the socialist cause. How they approach the nationality issue and how well they understand the party's nationality policy will have a great bearing on the consolidation and development of socialist nationality relations in our country in the future as well as on the country's long-term interests. Therefore, we must attach great importance to education in the

nationality theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and the party's nationality policy among young people and children, and this education should be combined with general moral and ideological education in patriotism and socialism. Through such education they should be helped to fully and correctly understand the motherland's history and the history of relations between all nationalities, the inherent relationship between nationality unity and the contents of patriotism and communism, and the coincidence between the party's nationality policy and the common interests of all nationalities. In recent years, courses on the nationality theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and the party's nationality policy have been given in all colleges and universities in Inner Mongolia. Lessons on nationality theory and nationality policy have also been added to the ideology-morality course in the middle schools. Primary school pupils have also been often told to cherish friendship and unity of all nationalities. Satisfactory results have been achieved in education in this respect. We should take education in the nationality theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and the party's nationality policy as an important part of ideological and political education for young people and children, and must never relax effort in this respect. We should help young people and children of all nationalities gradually establish the nationality viewpoint of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, continuously enhance consciousness in implementing the party's nationality policy, and pass the noble tradition of keeping great unity among all nationalities from generation to generation.

#### IV

To hold high the banner of patriotism and develop the cause of nationality unity and progress, we must carry out uncompromising and unremitting struggle against the domestic and external hostile forces which try to undermine nationality unity and split the motherland. We are now facing a complicated and changeable international situation. The external hostile forces have never changed their sinister attempt to turn socialist China into a vassal state to the Western powers, although their scheme failed again and again. Encouraging nationality dispute, fostering separatists, undermining nationality unity, and splitting China are the main means they have been using for their sinister purpose. Class struggle, which still exists within a certain scope at home, will also inevitably find expression in the nationality issue. In China's history, there was no lack of cases in which the scum of society stirred up nationality disputes, tried to split the country, and carried out various activities that harm the interests of their own nationalities and the Chinese nation as a whole by flaunting the banner of seeking benefit for their own nationalities, but in fact they just sought the selfish interests and contended for the ruling position for a small number of people. All such sinister activities and schemes ended in complete failure as they encountered the opposition of the people of all nationalities who deeply love the motherland. In contemporary China, a very small number of people still

engage in opposing the socialist system, undermining the great unity of all nationalities in China, and sabotaging the motherland's unification by colluding with external hostile forces and flaunting the banner of nationality, religion, democracy, and human rights. Their criminal activities go against the trend of history and violate the interests of all nationalities in the whole country. So it is quite natural that they encounter the resolute opposition of the entire Chinese people of all nationalities, including the people of their own nationalities. Through nearly 100 years of revolutionary struggle and more than 40 years of construction, the people of all nationalities have formed relations of sharing the same destiny and going through thick and thin together. Their patriotic feelings have developed highly and have become impregnable. Patriotism is the solid and insurmountable "great wall" against domestic and foreign hostile forces, and is the powerful weapon of the Chinese nation to smash the conspiracies of the hostile forces. By holding high the banner of patriotism, we shall thoroughly foil all schemes of splitting the country and the nation.

Socialist construction will be a very long historical period. The struggle between "peaceful evolution" and anti-"peaceful evolution" will exist throughout this period. Nationality work in our country has achieved remarkable results, but we will continue to go a long way and will face more arduous tasks. The nationality issue exists generally in all parts of the world, and it is a rather complicated and sensitive issue. Safeguarding nationality unity and the motherland's unification will always be an important part of the struggle against "peaceful evolution." We must always be clearly aware of this point. Party committees and governments at all levels should, according to the instructions of the central leading comrades, attach great importance to the nationality issue and always take the nationality work as one of their major tasks. We should fully understand that maintaining nationality unity and safeguarding the motherland's unification is a fundamental task in our nationality work, and is also a major requirement of adherence to the four cardinal principles on the nationality issue. We should follow the correct course of solving the nationality issue according to China's special national conditions as initiated by Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, and other proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation, and correctly approach and handle the two types of contradictions of different characters. Problems should be settled according the character of the problems. Problems that are contradictions among the people should be properly solved by means of persuasion and education and through the implementation of the formula of "unity-criticism-unity." At the same time, a high degree of vigilance must always be kept against the splitist activities that sabotage the motherland's unification and undermine nationality unity, and action must be taken to wipe them out in their embryonic stage.

Comrade Mao Zedong showed great foresight by pointing out "the unification of our country, the unity of our people, and the unity of our various nationalities

these are the basic guarantees of the sure triumph of our cause."<sup>1</sup> In order to win great victories in our socialist modernization construction and to realize the grand program of making our country an intermediate-level developed country by the middle of next century, we must show our unlimited love of our motherland through our efforts to develop the cause of nationality unity and progress, safeguard the motherland's unification, and dedicate ourselves to the construction of the four modernizations. The Autonomous Region of Inner Mongolia is situated in the northern border area of the motherland and accounts for one-eighth of the total area of the country. So this region shoulders a major responsibility and mission for safeguarding the motherland's unification and strengthening the unity of all nationalities. The people of all nationalities in Inner Mongolia, who have the glorious tradition of patriotism, will certainly make new contributions to the development of nationality unity and progress and the consolidation of the motherland's unification in the new historical period.

#### Footnote

1. *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Volume 2, p. 757.

#### Dedicated to a Lofty and Sweet Cause

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[Article by Zeng Manxiang (2582 3341 4382), teacher at the middle school attached to Beijing Teachers University]

[Text] In the refreshing autumn breeze, we educators are seeing in another of the annual glorifying occasions exclusive for us, Teachers' Day. At this moment, my heart is filled with pride, happiness, and a sense of responsibility that are unique to teachers.

In the autumn of 1954, in answer to the call of the motherland, I abandoned my ambition to become an engineering student and entered Beijing Teachers University after passing the qualifying examinations. Four years later, I started my teaching career, plain but meaningful, providing barely enough means but full of fun.

#### A Cause To Be Proud of

Poets have crowned teachers with various laurels such as "gardeners protecting flowers" and "engineers working on human souls." But among teachers themselves, they are more inclined to compare themselves to the moving yet tragic image of "red candles" that "illuminate others to the destruction of themselves." I do not know when this "red candle analogy" was first used. But it was already there in the days of my teacher's teacher. Today, my students also look upon me and my work as something pathetic. A high school senior, just before graduation, wrote with deep feeling in a letter to me, "It always occurs to me that you are very much like 'ferryman.'

'Oars' in hand, you ferry batch after batch of knowledge-seekers across so that they can move on in a set direction, yet your own youthful days are wearing away between here and yonder." Though every word in the letter carries respect for educational work, it nevertheless appears to me that this "ferryman analogy," like the "red candle analogy," gives too much prominence to the self-sacrifice that educational work entails, and imparts a pathetic color to this cause which actually provides great fun, much room for creativity, and strong reasons to be proud.

My experiences in the practice of education over an extended period have convinced me that a teacher is more like a high-speed neutron that bombards the atomic nucleus of uranium or plutonium. He is able to trigger a grand "chain reaction" like nuclear fission, creating tremendous value hundreds and thousands of times his own. So far as I am concerned, 32 years in education have elapsed and thousands of students have left me. They have now grown from naive youth to workers, scientists and technologists, party and government cadres, and officers of the People's Liberation Army with both integrity and talent. Some of them have also entered the same career as mine (to become middle and primary school teachers and associate professors at universities). They are educating and will continue to educate many more students than I have, and some of their students have also become teachers or entered teachers' colleges or universities. Such interminable regeneration makes possible a large, e "v-extending talent network. Is this not a "chain reaction" that teachers activate in bringing up men of tai ni? Such grand "fission" of talent promotes the prosperity of the country, the flourishing of the nation and progress of men, and is building up a more brilliant and beautiful tomorrow. Looking ahead at this incomparably magnificent picture, we teachers are full of pride and enthusiasm. There is absolutely no point in feeling dejected.

True, we educators do make some sacrifice in dedicating ourselves. However, because such sacrifice will be returned with the realization of the four modernizations and the vitalization of the Chinese nation, it is worthwhile! Moreover, education is both a science and an "art," offering much room for one to display his talent. It is absolutely wrong to think that it involves no creation or harvest, but only sacrifice. It is with such understanding that I have been able for decades to consistently maintain strong enthusiasm and work quietly on the garden plot of education, in the 1960's and 1970's when teachers were disgraced to "the stinking ninth," and in the present day when teachers' status and the treatment they receive are still on the low side.

#### A Job That Gives Joy

Since I became a teacher, I, like tens of thousands of other teachers, have been doing student ideological and political work on top of giving lectures, apart from the eight working hours each day, I have to prepare lessons and read students' papers in the evening. Sunday is often

made another weekday. Even during winter or summer vacation, I cannot totally relax, for I have to prepare the course for the coming term and seize this "golden opportunity" for vocational studies by doing some more reading.

It is indeed toilsome to be a primary or middle school teacher. But it also gives much happiness. The objects of our work are innocent, enthusiastic, and spirited young people. Being together with them all the time makes one sanguine and cheerful and imbues one with youthful vigor. Talking heart-to-heart with the students and following their drift of thought, which is as active as a flying bird, are refreshing and re-energizing, like when you have just had a session of qigong meditation. The greatest joy in teaching career comes from the fact that, all your life, you are enjoying beautiful interpersonal relationships, the purest and least utilitarian in the world. Students have a heart that is least hesitant to pay you back. You sow your care, and you harvest 10 times as much love.

I remember the day I blacked out in class due to hypoglycemia. My students helped me to the office at once and gave me a hot sugar drink. When I went home in the afternoon, I saw a tastefully packaged bottle of Ningxia wolfberries placed carefully outside the threshold. I spent a long time trying in vain to discover the students who had sent it to me and how they knew that I had been taking this kind of tonic for years.

Whenever graduation drew near or New Year's Day was coming, my students would send me some heart-warming words in letters of thanks or New Year's cards: "Not only have I gained much knowledge from you, but also I understood, through you, many principles for becoming a proper man. Please allow me to say: Thank you, teacher! Among your many students, I am only an ordinary one. When someone mentions my name several years from now, you will probably have forgotten me. But I will never forget you!" "A student is never able to express in words his gratitude and admiration for his teacher. What he actually does is to establish, unconsciously, a lofty and indelible image of the teacher in his heart. This lofty image will accompany them as they venture into the vast world, even to the ends of the earth."

Today, whenever I re-read these words saturated with the students' true feelings, I can still feel a warm current of sentiment welling up in me and I will be long immersed in the enormous happiness unique to the teaching career.

#### Weighty Responsibility

Owing to some historical and existing factors, the social and financial status of us teachers is still less than adequate, but I believe that, under the party's leadership and through the unremitting efforts of all quarters of the society, a strong trend of "respecting teachers and valuing education" will gradually but definitely come into being, and teaching is bound to become "the most

respectable and admirable profession." Because of this belief, I do not give much thought to those matters, whereas my own responsibility is what always stays on my mind.

In order to bring up reliable successors to the revolutionary cause, I started from the first day of my teaching career to pay close attention to the students' ideological and political work, in addition to doing a good job in teaching Chinese. In the past few years, I have been doing my best to help students overcome the influence of the Western bourgeois philosophy, the domestic trend of bourgeois liberalization, and the erroneous ideology in the literary and art circles. During the political disturbance in the late spring and early summer last year, I exposed the nature of the turmoil and rebellion in accordance with the thrust of the RENMIN RIBAO editorial published on 26 April 1989, advising the students not to give credence to political rumors, take to the streets and demonstrate, or add trouble to the chaos in Tiananmen Square. By so doing, I played a role required of a Communist and teacher. Though this disturbance is over now, some other ones may still be coming. "Peaceful evolution" and the struggle against it will stay in our country in various forms for a long time to come. One may well say that we educators are fighting at the very forefront of this struggle. Therefore, we should, on the one hand, take solid and down-to-earth measures to bring moral education into the entire teaching process and, while passing on knowledge to the students, help them increase their power to draw distinctions concerning cardinal issues of right and wrong. On the other hand, we should do our utmost to bring up larger numbers of excellent people of talent, because the ultimate key to imparting true appeal, magnetism, and cohesiveness to socialism is to make our science and technology and economy thrive. This is the most solemn historical mission and the weightiest political responsibility that are entrusted to us teachers.

It also often occurs to me that one of the serious aftermaths of the 10-year havoc and the lapses in our work in recent years is the "fault" [in a geological sense] in the setup of talented people and the lack of successors in the teaching contingent. Old comrades like us who have been toiling away for dozens of years in their respective teaching posts have the responsibility to encourage and guide some students of good character and scholarship to devote themselves to the cause of education; to set a good example for middle-aged and young teachers with their firm political conviction, spirit of selfless devotion, and meticulous scholarship, and bring them up with utmost care so as to build up a reliable vital new force that may surpass the old-timers on the front of education.

Also, it often comes to my mind that, with the times advancing, situation developing, and knowledge exploding, education should be "geared to modernization, to the world, and to the future." We educators, who are supposed to be paragons of virtue and learning, must consistently educate ourselves first and attach great

importance to the enhancement of our own qua ... Only by so doing can we bring up pillars of the state catering to the needs of the 21st century. This is also one of the requisites for establishing a new social trend of respecting teachers and valuing education.

In joyous anticipation of the sixth Teachers' Day, I am filled with unparalleled pride and happiness, at the same time, I am aware that the load on my shoulders is by no means light. I have been encouraging myself: The burden is heavy and the road long, I have to press forward with indomitable will.

### Sixty-Six Years as a Teacher

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[Article by Miao Yue (4924 68R5), professor, History Department of Sichuan University]

[Text] I was born in 1904. As a young man, I studied at Beijing University's liberal arts department. In 1924, my father passed away, so I had to quit school to support my family. I was engaged in education work. To date, I have taught in secondary schools for 10 years and in universities for 56 years, a total of 66 years in teaching service. Over the years, I have taught a few thousand students, the majority of whom have scored marked achievements in their own posts and a minority of whom have made academic achievements exceeding my own. This is a gratifying feeling to me. The ancients said, "The pupil is not necessarily inferior to his teacher and the teacher is not necessarily more virtuous than his pupil." It is a good sign that the pupil surpasses the teacher. This explains that each succeeding generation surpasses the previous one and that there is hope for the future of the Chinese nation.

Over the past 60-odd years, there have been good and bad times in the external education environment and also favorable and unfavorable working conditions, but I have never wavered in my ideal of dedicating myself to education. As a youth, I studied history and was deeply influenced by ideas of the Confucian in the Qin dynasty. Confucius was a failure in his official career, but a success in education throughout his life. He was the first to start the practice of giving private lectures, without discrimination teaching his disciples science and culture, such as the *Book of Odes*, the *Book of History*, etiquette, and music, which had thitherto been monopolized by feudal officials of the Western Zhou dynasty. He thus paved the way for the practice of letting a hundred schools of thought contend in the Warring States. So, posterity has honored Confucius as a "paragon of virtue and learning for all generations." Mencius was also a failure in his official career all his life. He toured the kingdoms of Liang and Qi, but failed to realize his ideal. So, he went into retirement and compiled the seven chapters in the *Book of Mencius* with his disciples like Wan Zhang, thus handing down his academic thoughts and ideas. Therefore, Mencius also said

a gentleman has three pleasures, one of which is to "educate people of outstanding ability in the world." The kind of talented people that we train today are no longer feudal government officials, but new socialist talents with the four haves. That is why engaging in education today implies a nobler significance. Based on this understanding, I feel that being a teacher is a glorious and meaningful profession. Though I cannot be compared with the ancient saints and sages like Confucius and Mencius, I am willing to render my contribution to lecturing and educating talented people. I am aware that I have no talent or ability for engaging in politics and even more so in business, but I have the self-confidence to be a teacher and handle it with competence, this being in line with my ability and character. So, I have persisted in this work for several decades.

My objective in training people can be summarized in eight characters: "To have both ability and political integrity and study for the purpose of application." Later, I made it more specific in three phrases: "Be upright, be meticulous in scholarship, and be diligent," which I urged my students to earnestly put into practice. By "being upright," I mean advocating justice and righteousness, upholding truth, and not deviating from what has been taught to curry favor with the world, comply with convention, or follow the trend. By "being meticulous in scholarship," I mean that, in acquiring knowledge, we must apply the viewpoints and methods of dialectical materialism and historical materialism, integrate theory with practice, earnestly refrain from boasting and exaggeration, making pretenses, and trying to please the public with claptrap. By "being diligent," I mean requiring students to possess the ability to tackle practical affairs and a strong sense of responsibility and to be diligent and conscientious. These three requirements have been achieved with certain results among undergraduates and, especially, postgraduates.

It is my opinion that, as a teacher, aside from propagating knowledge of ancient sages, giving lectures, and dispelling doubts, I should attend to the more important task of cultivating students' character, calling on them to cherish lofty ideals and foster noble values. I carry out this work through lecturing. All along I lectured on Chinese ancient history and classical literature. In lecturing, I constantly elucidate fine sayings, exemplary conduct, noble styles, and high morality of the ancient sages and people of ideals and integrity. I give as examples Qu Yuan's high morality and good conduct; Fan Pang's ambition to rid the world of all troubles and disturbances; Tao Yuanming's refraining from seeking fame and fortune; Du Fu's anxiety for his country and people; Fan Zhongyan's "being the first one to bear hardships and the last one to enjoy comforts"; Wen Tianxiang and Si Kefa's noble national spirit and unchanging moral integrity; and Gu Yanwu's "versatile accomplishments in book knowledge" and "sense of honor and shame in behavior." In this manner, we motivate our students to follow the good examples and hold vulgarity in contempt, thus influencing their

thoughts and ideas. For example, one graduate of Sichuan University majoring in history, who has taken up the post of deputy secretary of the party committee of the autonomous region of a minority nationality, once said in a general meeting: "While I was studying at the University of Sichuan, I was deeply moved when listening to Professor Miao Yue's explanation about Fan Pang's ambition to rid the world of all troubles and disturbances. In my work, I have always kept this in mind to encourage myself without slackening."

As a teacher, I am always much concerned about the development of education in our country. Since its founding, our country has scored marked achievements in higher education, though there is still plenty of room for improvement. How to make improvements is a topic open to discussion with a kaleidoscope of possibilities, but I will mention only one point which may serve as reference. I studied at Beijing University and taught at Zhejiang University, so I am familiar with these two universities. Mr. Cai Yuanpei, president of Beijing University, and Mr. Zhu Kezhen, president of Zhejiang University, were all great educators. When they were in charge of the universities, their guiding ideology was to run education in accordance with educational principles. A university is not a government office. The president of a university should treat the teachers like guests and friends, rather than in the manner of a commanding officer to his subordinates. They would often hold discussions with professors about important administrative affairs of the university. Academically, they would make use of all the strong points and promote democracy. Such practices are all very effective and may also serve as reference today.

In recent years, the ideological trend of money worship in society has run rampant and exerted an impact on schools, giving rise to the phenomenon of teachers becoming weary of teaching and students weary of studying. This is a cause for worry. How do we effect a remedy? "Education is a project of vital and lasting importance and is the foundation for building a nation." This is a principle known to all. In the world of today, competition among nations cannot depend solely on military might. More important is the competition in science, technology, and economy. The enhancement of the cultural quality of the people, creation of new scientific theories, perfection of factory management, and steady renewal of products all require specialists. If our country does not vigorously develop and promote education and cultivate all kinds of qualified personnel in large numbers, we will only be able to follow other people's trails. So-called "surpassing the world's advanced level" will be nothing more than good intentions. Some people hold that, to promote education, increasing the country's investment in education and raising teachers' wages are top-priority tasks. True, these are pertinent remarks, but a teacher's aspiration is that, apart from improvement in material benefits, he needs to be given a courteous reception and spiritual appreciation. This is a point that cannot be ignored. Generally

speaking, the life of a teacher is simple. If he can have enough to keep himself warm and fed and can take care of his parents and children, he will be able to work in peace, without asking for a luxurious life. However, if he fails to get the courteous reception and appreciation due him, he will be downhearted and depressed. A leading comrade of the central authorities has repeatedly emphasized that "we must respect knowledge and talent." This is all very good. But when it comes to practical life, there still exists a considerably big gap. China has a fine tradition of respecting teachers and education all along. During the Qing dynasty, when midlevel government officials Quan Zuwang, Qian Daxin, and Yao Nai retired and returned to their native places, they took up post as headmasters of academies of classical learning (as teachers rather than as government officials). The local provincial governors treated them on equal footing with the courtesy of guests and friends, rather than as their inferiors or subordinates. If the people of ancient times were capable of treating teachers with respect, given the superb socialist system of today, we should be better able to do so. As to how to show appreciation for and give remuneration to teachers, there are many problems open to deliberation. I cannot discuss all of them in detail in this short article.

Nowadays, quite a considerable number of young students do not want to study, still less to engage in basic scientific research. For this, we, as teachers, should also take a certain responsibility. For example, some teachers are not willing to be wholeheartedly committed to teaching, and the quality of their lectures is so poor that they are incapable of stimulating students' interest. Some teachers think of giving up teaching and going into politics or business, resulting in a drain on the contingent of teachers. All these are not right. Though his life is simple and poor, a teacher should have a strong sense of responsibility and do his utmost to educate people. A common saying goes: "A person must respect himself before others will respect him." A teacher must, first of all, have self-esteem, teach with tireless zeal, and be faithful in discharging his responsibilities. Only then will he be able to earn the respect of society.

#### Promote Flow of Production Essentials, Enhance Readjustment of Economic Structure

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[Article by Sun Weiben (1327 4850 2609), secretary, Heilongjiang Provincial CPC Committee]

(Text)

I

Marxism holds that the distribution of social labor according to the proportion of social needs "is still the most important economic law on the basis of common production."<sup>1</sup> The practice of socialist construction in China over the past 40 years proves that it is not at all easy for us to do so. Generally speaking, we still do not

have sufficient experiences and are unable to successfully solve this problem. Thus, the sustained, steady, and harmonious development of our national economy has been affected. After the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, as a result of economic readjustment, the economic proportionate relations became more rational. However, after 1984, as deviations appeared in the guiding ideology for economic work, the past few years saw overheated economic development. As a result, not only was the original structural dislocation not completely improved, but also many new contradictions appeared. Judging from the situation of Heilongjiang Province, there was a 20-percent shortage in electricity and about 15 percent in transport capability, and the rolled-steel production rate of the province was as low as three percent. Due to a shortage of about 25 percent in light industrial raw materials (80 percent of which came from agriculture), about one-third of enterprises were operating under capacity. At the same time, problems such as backward production technology and low added-value also became more serious. The processing of crude oil, raw coal, timber, and food grains (the net output value of which makes up about 40 percent of the provincial income) was only about 20 percent of the national total. Some other problems, such as the reduction in natural resources and the increasing economic losses, have also appeared. Last year, the losses suffered by the coal, oil, and timber production sectors already made up more than 70 percent of the total losses of the province. If we do not make up our minds to harmonize and optimize the economic structure and only adopt the measures of loosening credit conditions and increasing investment to restart those enterprises that are operating under capacity, a more serious dislocation and new setbacks will surely appear in the future, although a temporary economic upturn may be achieved.

Generally speaking, economic structural readjustment is realized through two channels. First, establishing new industries and developing the original industries by continuously increasing input. Second, changing the existing industrial pattern by promoting the flow of production essentials and realizing the reallocation of the existing productive capability. Judging from China's current situation, on the one hand, there has been insufficient investment in structural readjustment, only 40 to 50 billion yuan a year in the past few years, therefore, the role of this investment is quite limited in readjusting the 1,600 billion yuan worth of asset structure. On the other hand, it is difficult to achieve the desired result by merely increasing investment, because the new investment can only help the developing industries, but the existence of old enterprises that should have been eliminated through competition will continue to affect the overall scheme for optimizing the economic structure. Therefore, when carrying out economic structural readjustment in our country, it is necessary to readjust and renew mainly the existing assets, that is, to rationalize their makeup in accordance with the state's industrial policy and through the flow of the existing

production essentials and the optimization of organization. To put it more concretely, it means increasing the technological quality and organizational efficiency of enterprises through technological transformation, changing production lines, and the merger and association of enterprises.

II

In the past year, we took the work of promoting the rational flow of production essentials as a breach in readjusting the economic structure, and experiments and explorations were made throughout the province.

**First, the policy of having fewer enterprises close and stop production and having more merged was adopted to promote the flow of production essentials from inferior to superior enterprises.** At present, a thorny problem in economic readjustment is that about one-fourth of enterprises that produce oversupplied products and suffer losses and which are unable to have their own funds circulated, are yet holding a large amount of funds belonging to those producing undersupplied products and gaining profits. As a result, a considerable number of superior enterprises have also fallen into the mire of "triangle debt." To deal with this situation, we did not close the enterprises, make them stop production, and reduce the number of staff and workers as we had done in the past, but promoted the readjustment of the enterprise organizational structure so that the assets in storage could flow from inferior to superior enterprises. In April 1989, the provincial party committee and provincial government worked out the "Temporary Provisions on Certain Questions Concerning the Rational Flow of Production Essentials Among Enterprises and Optimizing Organization." Later, they further worked out some concrete regulations and policies for promoting the flow of assets in storage through two channels. First, the transfer of production essentials among enterprises. In 1989, more than 4,000 enterprises in this province combined technology, personnel, funds, and materials, which yielded 1.44 billion yuan of output value and 28 million yuan of profit and tax. Second, the transfer of management power and ownership as a whole. In the same year, some 932 enterprises were merged, including 257 enterprises suffering losses, of which 240, or 93.4 percent, made up deficits and increased surpluses. The assets of 720 enterprises thus merged were worth 71 million yuan. As a result of the merger, some 3.72 million square meters of land was rationally used and proper arrangements were made for the employment of 72,000 staff and workers who were awaiting jobs. Moreover, contracting, leasing, trading, and joint-stock operation were realized among 1,213 enterprises. At the same time, some 213 enterprise groups were established throughout the province. According to statistics of 100 enterprises that had been merged or joined the enterprise groups, their production scale was expanded without increasing input and the profit and tax rate of their funds rose 23 percent in 1989 compared with the previous year.

Practice proves that promoting the flow of the assets in storage through enterprise merger and combination can help transform the inferior and strengthen the superior and can reduce the production of those industries which should be restricted and expand the production of those which should be developed first, so that the purpose of readjusting the industrial structure can be attained. On the other hand, it can bring about economic and social stability, and this is far more important. Judging from a microeconomic viewpoint, it can help the workers of some enterprises that have ceased production to obtain new jobs; and, from a macroeconomic viewpoint, the increased degree of organization and social benefits of industrial production according to the demands of socialized grand production is conducive to enhancing the government's financial power and ability to regulate and control the market and commodity prices. Thus, readjustment can be carried out in a stable situation while social stability is further improved by optimizing structure.

**Second, promoting the flow of major production elements from the production of oversupplied products to the production of undersupplied products by developing science and technology in enterprises and creating new products.** At present, an important matter for us is to tap the potentials of all enterprises. Due to the overheated economic development, almost all products were marketable some years ago. For this reason, people were not enthusiastic in carrying out readjustment. In the period of economic improvement and rectification, as there were both pressures of funds shortage and structural weakness of the market, the enterprises were forced to take the new road of innovating technology, renewing products, improving quality, and reducing consumption. It may be appropriate to say that all enterprises were faced with the task of readjusting the product mix. Especially after the 10 years of reform, the enterprises have become relatively independent entities. Under great market pressure and propelled by the motive power of competition, they are all enthusiastic in readjusting their product mix. They have also acquired, in varying degrees, the ability to meet market changes. This is a microeconomic basis for optimizing the allocation of the assets in storage and promoting macroeconomic readjustment.

For this reason, we have taken mobilizing the initiative of enterprises in developing new products as the main task in structural readjustment. First, on the basis that all enterprises have established an organization for developing new products, some 32 technological development centers have been established with the help of some key enterprises. In 1989, some 1,168 new products were developed. This year, we have also carried out the plan for developing 1,090 new products. At the same time, a macroeconomic policy has been worked out for eliminating or renewing outdated products by compulsory means. The provincial government has clearly pointed out that, in industrial production, we should support production of 121 products, restrict production of 32

products, or cease the production of 54. It has also put forth concrete tasks for supporting, restricting, and ceasing production in various other fields, including capital construction, technological transformation, and foreign trade, and has treated different production projects in different ways with respect to funds, energy, and raw materials supply and arrangement for transport. In this way, it has promoted the rational allocation of the major production elements.

**Third, optimizing regional structures in accordance with the principle of taking the overall situation into consideration and giving play to superiority.** Judging from a microeconomic viewpoint, readjusting the structure of assets in storage is a mere conduct of enterprises. But seen from a macroeconomic viewpoint, it cannot do without the guidance, regulation, and control of regional industrial policies. This is because today, when there are violent fluctuations in the total supply and demand and rapid changes, or even distortion, in the relations between market supply and demand, it is difficult for the enterprises to prevent blindness when carrying out microeconomic readjustment in response to short-term information about the marketing of products and under the guidance of their immediate interests. Moreover, if the readjustment of organizational structure of the enterprises deviates from the long-term and overall target of optimizing the industrial structure, it may be easily led astray. Therefore, the reorganization of the assets in storage should be carried out under the guidance of the government by means of comprehensive economic, administrative, and legal measures. Based on this understanding, we always emphasize the necessity of giving play to the role of the heavy industrial bases of our country (in our country, the ratio between heavy and light industries is about 1:1, but in our province it is about 2:1; the output values of our mining industry and engineering industry make up respectively one-fourth and one-fifth of the provincial industrial output value, which are among the highest of the whole nation) and the resources-exporting provinces (which export about 80 percent of crude oil, 30 percent of raw coal, 60 percent of timber, and 10 percent of grain that they produce) and the necessity of taking the interests of the whole into consideration and making greater contributions. At the same time, we have worked out a policy for industrial production, which is good for bringing local advantages into play, more profoundly exploiting natural resources, and developing "one motive power" (electric power) and "four assisting powers" (petrochemical industry, food and textile industries, engineering industry, and construction materials industry). At the end of last year, the order of industrial development and product development was rearranged. In order to carry out this regional industrial policy, we made a general survey and analysis of the provincial situation in the management, use, and economic returns of the existing assets in storage. On this basis, we worked out an "Eighth Five-Year Plan" and a 10-year plan for structural readjustment in our province and, in light of our real capability, made certain regulations on investment, credit, price, taxation, and other

economic levers. Under the situation that investment has dropped, we have adopted several methods, such as buying shares with funds, land, labor, and materials, and sharing the right of use, to guide the flow of major production elements of various localities and enterprises from production of oversupplied products to production of undersupplied products. The bank has set up independent accounts for key enterprises and new products that conform to the industrial policy and has provided them with preferential treatment, and the tax departments have reduced their taxes. At the same time, the pricing departments have increased the prices of some basic products and lowered the prices of some oversupplied products while ensuring that the general price level drops step by step. Thus, the situation that the development of basic industries and the processing of raw materials have lagged behind has begun to change. Last year, the total industrial output value of our province increased by 5.7 percent. The production of crude oil was stable. The output of raw coal increased by 8.9 percent, while generated electricity rose 12.5 percent, freight transport volume rose 6.9 percent, and the metallurgical industry grew 14.6 percent. The output of dressed coal and coke were up 40 and 46 percent, respectively, and the volume of processed raw oil and grain respectively grew 4.3 and 3.6 percent. Despite natural disasters, which were the most serious in the past decades, a good harvest was reaped in agriculture. In the first quarter of this year, there was a decrease in our province's industrial production. But coal, oil, and electricity still rose respectively by 13.9, 0.1, and 6.9 percent, while railway freight transport increased by 5.2 percent. The agricultural production situation is good.

**Fourth, taking an active part in the international division of work so as to expand the international market.** In the final analysis, readjusting the industrial structure should be suited to the structure of demand. The international market is also an important part of general social demand. Obviously, if some of our oversupplied products can enter the international market, they will not be oversupplied. Likewise, through international exchange, some undersupplied products can also be developed more quickly. Seen from a long-term point of view, the big population and limited resources are the fundamental restrictive factors for our economic development. Only by making full use of world resources through opening up to the outside world can we continuously increase the quality of our labor force and our technological level, can we make our products enter the international market, and can we make our country one of the developed countries in the world. At present, under the situation that our domestic market is weak and some enterprises are operating below capacity, by actively opening up the international market and promoting the transnational flow and combination of the major production elements in light of the needs of the international market, some unused production means may be used again and our economic difficulties may be reduced.

To this end, we put forth a policy of "linking with the south and opening up the north," meaning, strengthening economic ties to various fraternal provinces, municipalities, and regions in the south and developing border trade with the Soviet Union in the north. In this way, the internal circulation of the major production elements was combined with their external circulation and an industrial structure characterized by opening to both domestic and foreign markets was gradually established in the course of readjustment. We must make full use of the advantage of our province, which is adjacent to the Far East area of the Soviet Union, and actively develop trade, economic, technological, and labor cooperation with the Soviet Union in the border areas. In 1989, the volume of border trade of our province increased by 200 percent over the previous year. It even increased by 1,690 percent in the first quarter of this year compared with the same period of last year. Both total import and export volumes also increased by a big margin. But judging from the general situation, the industrial structure of our province is still not export-oriented. Last year's total import and export volume made up less than 10 percent of GNP (the national average was 25 percent). About two-thirds of the export goods were primary products. In the future, it is necessary to participate more extensively and more profoundly in the international division of labor and international exchange, export more surplus and idle production essentials, and import more funds, technology, and equipment needed for the development of heavy and chemical industries. It is necessary to accelerate the pace of readjusting and upgrading the industrial structure.

**Fifth, invest a certain amount of funds in technological transformation to further optimize the makeup of the assets in storage.** While developing modern commodity economy, it is necessary to make continuous efforts to expand socialized division of labor. At present, coordination among specialized departments is developing very slowly in our country. An important reason for this is that our equipment and technology do not suit each other. It is difficult to develop new productive forces by merely readjusting the original assets in storage. Most of the new investment made in the past several years was separated from the original assets in storage, and most technological transformation projects only suited coordination within the enterprises. They were unable to promote the reorganization of the assets in storage but, on the contrary, encouraged the closed and lower-level development of "small but complete economic units." To solve this problem, we have combined the readjustment of the assets increment with that of assets in storage and used the increment as input to stimulate and start the flow of the assets in storage.

1. To combine funds input with science and technology input. Seen from an angle of coordination among various industries, the basic industries are the "bottleneck" of all economic development. But seen from an angle of optimizing industries, the high consumption of energy and

materials and high costs, and the low quality, low returns, and low competitiveness of backward technology and management are more profound problems. To solve these problems, we worked out a "plan to rejuvenate our province by developing science and technology" in the course of readjustment, which stipulated in definite terms that investment funds should be used in industrial development and for the technological development of various units. The fund input, which was combined with the science and technology input, also created conditions for scientific and technological progress, and its economic returns were increased through science and technology input. For example, in agricultural development, we have carried out a "bumper harvest plan" and concentrated our funds, materials, and science and technology on the development of 36 million mu of cultivated land. It is expected that the gross output of crops produced on one-third of the land will be as high as that originally produced on one-half of the land.

2. To use a certain amount of the investment to carry out technological transformation, acquire some key equipment and technology, and guide and promote the flow of production essentials among various enterprises, so that the originally unused or low-level combination of production essentials, such as labor, work shops, and equipment, can be reorganized at a higher level and become new equipment and new technologies and so that new productivity can be formed. In this way, about 40 percent of investment was saved compared with separating new investment from the original assets in storage. In the past four years, Jixi City has used 79 percent of its industrial investment to promote technological transformation and 64 percent of its technological transformation funds to invest in key equipment and technological renewal. There are basically no newly established enterprises in this city, but its financial income has doubled. This experience was spread throughout the province. Last year, 82 percent of investment in the raw materials industry was used by key enterprises for technological transformation, and production capability in this field increased greatly. For example, the production capacity of pig iron increased 11.6 percent, that of ethylene 24.1 percent, that of plastics 16.1 percent, and that of glass 22.1 percent. Practice proves that this is a low-input and high-efficiency channel for readjustment.

3. To change scattered investment into concentrated investment and change individual transformation into group transformation. Only by changing the method of scattered investment can we solve existing problems, such as the "small but complete enterprises," small-scale enterprises, and repetition of poor-quality products. Furthermore, effectively promote cooperation among enterprises and expand economic scale so that the readjustment of the industrial structure can suit the demand of developing modern science and technology and socialized grand production. In Harbin, as the funds for technological transformation have been used by various trades and professions in a unified way and have been

concentrated on the technological transformation of the leading enterprises and on improving equipment and technology for some "satellite" enterprises, about 820,000 square meters of land that was originally unused or of low efficiency, some 144,000 square meters of work shops, and 1,500 sets of equipment have been fully used. At the same time, 25 enterprise groups have been established, saving 150 million yuan. Of them, the output value of 10 large-scale enterprise groups, including power and bearing production enterprise groups, increased by 12.3 percent last year compared with the previous year and the foreign exchange they earned increased by 41.3 percent.

### III

The rational flow and optimized organization of the production essentials have promoted steady socioeconomic development in our province. However, as the readjustment of the economic structure is a complicated and systematic social project, there are still many problems for further solution.

#### **1. To make comprehensive use of economic, administrative, and legal means to carry out effective macroeconomic management over the readjustment of the economic structure.**

The flow and optimization of the production essentials must be guaranteed by a rational economic structure. Generally speaking, it is necessary to establish a mechanism combining the planned economy and market regulation. The government must make a comprehensive use of economic, administrative, and legal means through mandatory planning and guidance planning to guide the enterprises to follow the socioeconomic development strategy and the demand of the national industrial policy. In concrete management methods, the government must carry out direct control over the systems of national defense, science, education, culture, public health, social insurance, and other public services; the systems of electric power, post and telecommunications, communication, water supply, and other public production departments; and the large and key enterprises producing undersupplied products that are concerned with the national economy and the people's livelihood, while carrying out indirect control over the production and operation of other enterprises. Only thus can the enterprises really become relatively independent commodity producers and operators and can we ensure the rational flow of the assets in storage and prevent them from being separated by various departments and regions. Freed from concrete organizational work for microeconomic activities, the government will be able to concentrate its main energy on harmonizing the relationships among various planning, financial, monetary, taxation, industrial, and commercial departments. It will be able to work out plans for comprehensive financial credit, investment, and technological transformation, and comprehensive foreign exchange revenue and expenditure. It will be able to make effective use of all

kinds of economic and legal means and set up a comprehensive network of policy, law, and regulations to regulate the production activities of all economic units and promote the healthy development of the economy.

#### **2. To establish and cultivate a market for the production essentials.**

It is necessary to promote the flow of production essentials and the readjustment of the economic structure under the guidance of state planning and to conscientiously make use of the law of value to establish and cultivate a unified market for the production essentials. First, it is necessary to put the organization and construction of a market for the trading of enterprise property rights in an important position. We must strive to establish a unified market for the trading of enterprise property rights in our province within two or three years and make it a regular, standard, open, and multipurpose market for exchange. Second, it is necessary to strengthen the role of science and technology so that it may become a bridge for the development of science and technology and the production and operation entities toward integration of science, industry and trade, which has a high-tech and new-tech advantage. Third, it is necessary to enliven the fund market. The fund market is an important part of the market system. Without the rational flow of funds, the flow of materials, technology, and labor will be obstructed. Guided by prices, tax rates, and interest rates, funds will flow toward low-cost, high-return sectors. This will certainly bring about the flow of other production essentials toward such sectors. As a result, production essentials can be best organized and the economic returns of all kinds of resources can be increased. Fourth, it is necessary to speed up construction of the personnel market. Coordinated policies and regulations should be worked out and perfected for the rational flow of talented people and the functions of the personnel market in promoting personnel exchange, reserve, and training should be strengthened, and its sphere of work should be expanded.

#### **3. To establish a labor insurance system.**

Practice shows that if we do not change the situation that enterprises assume responsibility only for profits and not for losses and that they can only be established and not be closed, we will be unable to establish an effective mechanism for the circulation of assets in storage. It is necessary to resolutely close down or cease production in enterprises that should be eliminated and not be merged with other enterprises in a planned way, step by step, and on the basis of clarifying the property-right relationship and strengthening the responsibility toward the preservation and increase of asset value. To this end, it is necessary to establish a social insurance system. We plan to use the funds provided by the state, enterprises, and individuals to establish a social insurance fund, including insurance for the jobless, the elderly, and the sick. This is a fundamental change. In the past, money was spent on enterprises which should have been closed. Now we will use this money to support workers who are

awaiting jobs due to the bankruptcy or closing down of such enterprises. In this way, social stability can be ensured and the heavy burden of the losing enterprises can be eased. The purpose of increasing economic returns will also be reached through readjusting the economic structure by means of developing superior enterprises while eliminating the inferior.

#### Footnote

1. *The Collected Works of Marx and Engels*, Volume 46, Book 1, p. 120.

### Develop the Collective Industries of Cities and Towns, Strengthen the Public-Owned Economy

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[Article by Ji Long (1323-7893), executive vice chairman, All-China General Cooperative of the Handicraft Industry]

[Text] The collective industries of cities and towns occupy an extremely important place in China's national economy, possess unique superiority and exuberant vitality, and give play to their irreplaceable role. First, because China's financial resources are limited, the state can concentrate its limited funds only on the key trades, including energy resources and communications, that are related to the national economy, people's livelihood, and economic lifeline, and on construction and production in the key enterprises. In running collective enterprises, enterprises rely mainly on funds raised by enterprises, and funds that have accumulated in enterprises with a self-generating effect, therefore, the state only needs to give certain support and assistance, and marked results—small investments, quick results, and large profits—can be achieved. This makes up for a deficiency of state funds for production and construction. Second, the development of collective enterprises is conducive to mitigation of employment pressures. The biggest characteristics of our country are large population and abundant labor force resources. Every year, several million new city and town laborers enter the work force, and arranging jobs for them has become an increasingly salient social problem. At present, the enterprises under ownership by the whole people have a large number of surplus workers and it will be hard to absorb more for a fairly long time. City and town collective industrial enterprises are mostly labor-intensive enterprises and those that integrate the labor-intensive type and technology-intensive type. They take more laborers and their existence and development have an important role that cannot be ignored in offering more jobs. Third, the city and town collective industries have many unique strong points. They can take up productive forces with different degrees of socialization and have an inherent mechanism for independent operation and independent financial responsibility that many state-owned enterprises do not possess. The existence and development of city and town collective industries strengthen the public-owned

economy, and the individual economy and private sector of the economy can hardly compare with them. Fourth, the great majority of collective industrial enterprises are small and flexible, have good market adaptability, and under the guidance of the state plan, can take such measures as are suitable to local conditions, fully and rationally utilize the natural resources spread over all areas, flexibly meet the needs of market regulation, and achieve the organic integration of the planned economy and market regulation.

It is because of this that the party and state attach great importance to the development of the collective economy. Comrade Jiang Zemin emphasized the necessity of "vigorously supporting the cooperative econ. and leading the masses to get rich together." In government work report at the Third Session of the Seventh National People's Congress [NPC], Premier Li Peng pointed out that it was necessary "to advocate and support the development of the city and town collective economy and cooperative economy according to state policies." At present, to enable the city and town collective economy to further develop healthily, we must mentally attach great importance to it and really solve the questions encountered in the development of the city and town collective economy.

#### 1. It Is Necessary To Adopt Policies That Lead and Vigorously Support the City and Town Collective Industries

The city and town collective industries belong mainly to the local industries and cannot develop unless the local government attaches importance to and supports them. Such support is extremely important to the development of China's city and town collective industries, especially the small city and county ones. However, ignoring the status and role of the collective economy, indiscriminately copying the pattern of ownership by the whole people to administer the collective enterprises, arbitrarily transferring the property of collective enterprises, and discriminating against the workers of these enterprises are problems that exist in some places to a certain extent. Particularly in the period of improving the economic environment and rectifying the economic order, insufficient importance is given to the new questions of collective enterprises and, therefore, their development is affected to a certain degree. Over the past few years, in light of their local realities and according to state policies, the Xiaoshan City party committee and city government in Zhejiang Province have worked out a series of policies to financially support the city and town collective economy so that the Xiaoshan City second light industry system can benefit to the amount of 49.5 million yuan. As a result, the second light industry system has increased production and economic results by a wide margin and submitted 127 million yuan to the state and local revenue. In 1989, the output value of the collective industries of the Xiaochan City second light industry system was 517.09 million yuan, their profits 42.91 million yuan, and the value of exported goods 187.74 million yuan, an increase of 410 percent, 320

percent, and 550 percent, respectively, over 1979. These three indexes respectively constituted 9.2 percent, 11.8 percent, and 17 percent of the gross value of industrial output, profits, and value of exported goods of the whole city. The city's second light industry system has become one of the four pillars of the city economy. Over the past few years, Tonghai County party committee and county government in Yunnan Province have regarded the development of the city and town collective industries as an important strategic measure to rejuvenate Tonghai, applied the method of "breeding fish with water" rather than the method of "draining the pond to get all the fish," and adopted various policies to support the city and town collective industries. Consequently, the financial revenue of Tonghai County has not dropped; on the contrary, it has increased year by year. Of the county's gross industrial output value of 195.03 million yuan in 1989, the city and town collective industrial output value was 120.746 million yuan, or 61.53 percent; this amount, plus the township and town collective industrial output value of 44.65 million yuan, was 165.396 million yuan, accounting for some 80 percent of gross industrial output value. All this fully shows that adopting policies to support the collective industries is a wise act of "breeding hens for eggs" and developing the sources of taxes as well as an effective way to enable the collective enterprises to go in a benign cycle.

## **2. In the Development of the City and Town Collective Economy, It Is Also Imperative To Handle Well the Relations Between Stability and Development**

We also have a historical lesson on this point. The key to so-called stability lies in maintaining the continuity of policies. Of course, stability does not mean that nothing can change, and, on the basis of actual needs in the development of the collective economy, suitable readjustment, perfection, and supplement are necessary. However, there is one point that some basic principles and policies of the development of the collective economy cannot change. For example, it is essential to seriously implement the policy of treating the enterprises under ownership by the whole people and collective enterprises on an equal political basis without discrimination and of treating them on equal economic basis.

## **3. In Light of Market Needs, It Is Essential To Further Readjust the Product Mix and Enterprise Organizational Structure**

We must first increase the production of marketable "well-known, excellent, new, and special" products and strengthen our ability to meet an emergency. Since last year, a weak market and a large amount of unsalable products have appeared at home. We should see that this is a good opportunity for the enterprises to readjust their product mix and to develop new products. So long as the products are marketable, enterprises can be extricated from predicaments and raise economic results. Collective enterprises are generally small in size and, as "a small ship can turn round easily," they must give full play to their strong points. During the improvement and

rectification of the national economy, they must take a new road and develop in a new way. At the same time, it is necessary to readjust the enterprise organizational structure in a planned way. Facts prove that, with the rational readjustment of the enterprise organizational structure, new economic results can be formed through redisposition of production factors without making investments or by making a small amount of investments. Xiaoshan City in Zhejiang Province conducted vigorous exploration in readjusting the enterprise organizational structure and acquired very good experience. At the beginning of the 1980's, it broke away from the traditional concept of small production and boldly carried out a series of measures on the merger of enterprises and large-scale technological transformation. In the past several years, 108 enterprises have been readjusted into 56 enterprises and in light of the needs of professional cooperation, groups of enterprises with well-known products as the key products and different sizes of flexible collective structures have been formed so that the collective enterprises of the second light industry system with backward equipment can supplement one another, rationally distribute resources, and improve the combination of production factors. As a result, their output value has increased from some 100 million yuan in the past to over 500 million yuan, and they have doubled and redoubled their profits. These measures have strengthened the vitality of the enterprises, the actual strength of the city and town collective industries, and the strength of the public-owned economy.

## **4. Deepen Reform of the Collective Economy, Further Stabilize, Develop, and Perfect the Contract System**

For a long period, under interference coming from the "left" and right, the strong points and vitality of the collective economy have not been fully brought into play. Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee implemented the policies of reform and opening up, the collective economy has developed unprecedentedly, but a structural problem still exists. The collective industries must make use of the opportunity of improvement and rectification to further deepen reform of enterprises, to give play to the inherent strong points of the economic sector under collective ownership, and to really run enterprises in view of the nature and characteristics of collective enterprises.

At present, the focal point of deepening reform of the collective enterprises should be placed on the continued perfection of the system of contracted responsibilities for operation. Seen from the whole country, collective enterprises began implementing the contract system comparatively early and have accumulated relatively rich experiences. Facts prove that, under present conditions in the economic structure, implementation of the contract system is a good way to guarantee the decisionmaking power of the enterprises, arouse the enthusiasm of the operators and producers, and enable the enterprises to meet the needs of the planned economy and market regulation. As Premier Li Peng pointed out at a national conference on reform of the economic structure, "the

system of contracted responsibilities for operation of enterprises plays an active part in both resolving the present temporary economic difficulties and promoting the long-term development of enterprises." The Fifth Plenary Session of the 13th CPC Central Committee also fully affirmed the historical role of the system of contracted responsibilities for operation of enterprises in arousing the enthusiasm of enterprises and workers for production and for continuously improving the quality of the enterprises as a whole, and at the same time, emphasized that it was necessary to seriously sum up practical experiences and to unremittingly strive for perfection and enhancement. We must seize the opportunity of improvement and rectification to enhance the contract system to a new level. This is an important measure to stabilize the enterprises, the economy, and the overall situation; an effective way to deepen enterprise reform and to lead the masses to get rich together; and an important content of smoothly accomplishing the tasks of improvement and rectification. The focal points of perfecting the contract system should be the smooth transition of contracts during the second round of work on the contract management system; creating a better distribution system between the state and enterprises; rationally determining basic contract figures for enterprises; choosing well contractors so as to ensure that work is done both vigorously and safely; and trying to overcome or reduce short-term behavior of enterprises. As for enterprises that incur losses, we must adopt a contract system that is designed to reduce losses and single item contracts.

#### **5. Corresponding Leadership Organs Are Set Up and Put on a Sound Basis and Comparative Stability Is Maintained**

Historical experiences show time and again that setting up the leadership organs of the city and town collective industries and putting them on a sound foundation are important guarantees for stabilizing and developing the city and town collective industries. The city and town collective industries develop quickly in places where the organs have a sound foundation and are comparatively stable; when the organs have a poor foundation, the collective industries develop slowly and even stagnate and retrogress. For example, the second light industry organs of nine prefectures and cities of Sichuan Province are comparatively stable and the activities of combined cooperatives relatively normal. Since last year, despite the external environment in which many enterprises' production and economic results have been dropping and the market has been weak, production has been stable, the public has been reassured, and difficulties have been small in eight prefectures and cities. On the other hand, in the places where some organs are restless, production generally drops and economic results slide down in the collective industries.

Why do the enterprises of the city and town collective industries need to set up a unified and stable management organ? This is determined by the characteristics of the collective economy. 1) Because many enterprises of

the collective industries are small and scattered, their actual economic strength is weak, and their spontaneity is strong, they need the guidance, support, and management of a stable organ. 2) Because the development of the enterprises of the collective industries rely mainly on guidance by policies, they need a department to carry out independent study, implement policies, and conduct supervision. 3) In the face of the strong state-owned economy, the collective economy can be easily ignored by some departments and comrades and lose its necessary status. It can be seen that stabilizing the organs and making the relevant organs of the collective economy occupy a certain position in the state management structure are the objective requirements for giving full play to the active role of the collective economy.

In the current city and town collective industrial economy, not only stable administrative organizations are needed but also stable, public collective economic associations are needed. Since the state approved establishment of collective industrial cooperatives at all levels throughout the country, they have always played an important part in promoting the development of the city and town collective economy. Various cooperatives must pay attention to bringing out the strong points of the collective system, encourage the advanced, help the backward, and push the average. The cooperatives must help to extricate poor enterprises from their difficult situations, push forward the technological progress of the traditional industries, and help to update their products. They must also lead the masses to take the road of mutual cooperation and prosperity in common, help their lower-level combined cooperatives and enterprises solve problems, further work well, and contribute toward the development of the city and town collective industries of our country and toward the strengthening of the public-owned economy.

#### **The Masses Inside and Outside the Party Are the Basic Forces in the Struggle Against Corruption—A Survey on How Dalian City Combats Corruption and Encourages Honesty**

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[Article by the Research Office of the Central Discipline Inspection Commission and the Investigation and Research Office of the Liaoning Provincial Discipline Inspection Commission]

[Text] Over the last few years, particularly since the Fourth Plenary Session of the 13th CPC Central Committee, the struggle in Dalian City against corrupt practices in the party has developed healthily and profoundly and yielded marked results. In the urban and rural areas, a number of criminals have been severely punished and some cases breaching discipline have been handled. This has helped resolve some urgent problems of common concern to the public, promote the formation of the relevant systems, initially create the climate for combating corruption and encouraging honesty, ensure the

smooth carrying out of reform, opening up, and economic construction, and consolidate the political situation of stability and unity. Dalian City's experience has provided us with this enlightenment: The masses inside and outside the party are the basic forces to rely on in combating corruption and carrying out clean administration. As long as we firmly trust and rely on the masses and promptly and correctly organize and guide them, we will be able to conduct a profound and prolonged struggle against corruption and continuously score successes in this struggle.

### We Must Rely on the Masses in Combating Corruption

In this new historical period, the guidelines to go by in combating corruption are a matter of importance to the smooth carrying out of the struggle against corruption and to the results of the struggle. The practice of Dalian City suggests that the masses inside and outside the party are the basic forces in the struggle against corruption; in combating corruption we must trust and rely on the masses and adhere to the party's mass line. In opposing corruption, the Dalian City party committee and its party organizations at all levels follow these basic concepts: First, as historical activities are public undertakings, this vigorous socialist society is created by the masses. In our country, we must trust and rely on the masses and apply the mass line if we want to do something important or solve some complex problems. Otherwise we will accomplish nothing. The struggle against corruption is no exception. Second, our party's purpose in combating corruption conforms with the wishes and interests of the masses. In the final analysis, all corrupt practices damage the masses' fundamental interests and are therefore bitterly hated by the masses. The purpose of our party in conducting the struggle against corruption, eliminating corrupt practices, and punishing corrupt elements is to put into effect the spirit of wholeheartedly serving the people and to protect the masses' interests. Therefore, this is bound to enjoy the resolute and extensive support of the masses. Third, the process of combating corruption is a process of relying on the masses. When leading cadres live among the masses, the masses will have a clear idea of who is good and who is bad; if some of these cadres breach law and discipline in a concealed and secret manner, they will not escape the eyes of the masses. The masses know the situation well, lawbreakers are afraid of the mobilization of the masses. Fourth, whether the achievements in the struggle against corruption are great and thorough should be subject to the masses' judgment. Combating corruption is an activity of the masses, so they have every right to judge whether achievements in this respect are great and thorough. As long as leaders are willing to conscientiously listen to the masses' voice and take account of their feelings and intentions, they will be able to remain sober-minded and carry on the struggle against corruption more profoundly.

A correct understanding is an important precondition for doing a good job. In practice the Dalian City party

committee has deepened its understanding, has gradually laid down the principle of relying on the masses inside and outside the party in combating corruption, and has broadened the channel for relying on the masses. Apart from organizing and mobilizing the masses through party organizations at all levels, the city party committee also brings into play the role of the People's Congress, the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference [CPPCC], democratic parties, and mass organizations in establishing ties to the masses and soliciting opinions and suggestions from them. Not only does the city party committee pay attention to coordination between law-executing institutions and the masses, it also makes efforts to set up mass bodies against corruption, thus activating potential in all fields, forming a basic force against corruption and for strengthening clean administration.

### Turn the Task of Combating Corruption Into the Conscious Action of the Masses

Party members hate corruption, as do the masses. Those who obstinately engaged in bourgeois liberalization instigated the masses to stir up disturbances and riots under the pretext of "combating corruption." Therefore how to correctly guide the masses in the struggle against corruption became an important problem of trusting and relying on the masses. In the opinion of the Dalian City party committee, in the course of combating corruption and running clean administration, if leaders do not educate or guide the masses but let bourgeois liberalization spread among the masses, they will not be able to carry out the struggle against corruption, and corruption will continue to spread in the party and society. This could be as bad as giving up party leadership, nor can the party talk about relying on the masses. In practice the Dalian City party committee applies "dual tactics." It remains unwavering in removing obstruction and opposing corruption. It resolves problems promptly and curbs corruption in the bud. Particularly when some people were stirring up riots under the banner of "anti-corruption," the city party committee called a meeting on 28 April at which 15 party members and cadres who had violated law and discipline were seriously dealt with, whereas on the other hand 106 fine party members and cadres were commended. This deterred lawbreakers, encouraged uprightness, and educated the masses. Facts have suggested that party organizations and leaders at all levels should educate the masses and be brave and good at guiding the masses, so that the struggle against corruption will advance along a correct road. Trusting and relying on the masses does not mean tailing behind them, still less does it mean conniving at wrong ideas. On the contrary, we should stand in the forefront of the struggle, using Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought to educate, arm, and lead the masses in realizing their interests. An important point in the Marxist mass concept is relying on the masses while educating and guiding them. In the struggle against corruption it is important to apply this concept.

Turning the party's task of combating corruption into the masses' conscious action requires a great deal of work as well as meticulous ideological education and guidance. In this connection, the Dalian City party committee takes serious account of the following points:

First, it gives ideological education to cadres inside and outside the party as well as the masses so that they can distinguish between the true and false principles on "combating corruption" and lay an ideological foundation for correctly waging the struggle against corruption. Correct ideas are the basis of correct actions, but correct ideas cannot spontaneously take root among the masses; these ideas need to be instilled in their minds. In guiding the masses, it is necessary to educate them frequently and repeatedly, to abide by a correct principle and orientation on the question of opposing corruption, and to remain sober-minded on major issues of right and wrong. This is a foundation-laying job and, essentially, a matter of what political influence the masses should accept and whom they should follow. Over the last few years, party organizations in Dalian City have, in various ways, guided party members, cadres, and masses in making a distinction between the anticorruption led by the party and the anticorruption advocated by those who engaged in bourgeois liberalization, thus helping them to understand that the main aspect of our party is good rather than bad or too far gone to remedy, and that our party can absolutely overcome its own corrupt practices. The purpose of carrying out the struggle against corruption is to remove poisonous factors from the party so that it will remain vigorous and lively. No one is allowed to topple the party under the pretext of combating corruption. The struggle against corruption must proceed under the leadership of the party through normal channels, and "extensive democracy" is impermissible, as is any attempt to negate everything. In this way cadres and masses can distinguish between right and wrong, reach an ideological consensus, improve their ability to resist bourgeois liberalization, and enhance their consciousness in carrying out the struggle against corruption.

Second, it concerns itself with the urgent problems of the masses, sets targets for anticorruption work, creates a certain momentum, and solves problems through concentrated rectification. Leading cadres in Dalian City go deep into the realities of life, throb with the pulse of the masses, take public feelings as the first input in policy-making, conduct comprehensive analysis and make work arrangements for the city party committee according to central instructions, and turn these into the action of the masses. Thus, their work proceeds in an orderly way with the focus on major issues. For the past year the city has concentrated its time and effort on screening construction activity; straightening out malpractices in cadre housing; stopping the use of public money on extravagant eating and drinking, giving dinners, and presenting gifts; and rectifying all kinds of companies. So far it has handled 68 design and construction departments either operating without licenses or with poor management or

of low quality; has banned 11 real estate companies operating without approval; has investigated 150 illegal cases; has examined 350 people and dealt with 216 of them for violating rules and regulations in building, selling, or decorating private houses; has recovered some 500,000 yuan illegally used for these purposes; has sealed up 500 illegally possessed houses, and distributed 170 of them to needy families; has dissolved 162 companies and enterprises originally run by party and government institutions; and has resolved the problems of 357 party and government cadres who held second posts in enterprises. In light of their specific conditions, different counties and prefectures have selected the focal points of work to be resolved. In Xinjin County, for example, efforts are focused on resolving confused management of financial work as well as revenues and expenditures in county-run economic organizations. In Ganjingzi, directors and managers of township enterprises are not allowed to arrange good posts in their enterprises for their children or relatives. Dalian City concentrates its efforts on rectifying and solving these problems of common concern to the public. Achievements are consolidated after the settlement of each problem, so that the masses can see the results of the relevant work and strengthen their confidence in the struggle against corruption.

Third, it pays attention to resolving budding problems, to dispelling the masses' misgivings, and to smoothing their feelings, all aimed at preserving the momentum of the struggle against corruption. After the Fourth Plenary Session of the 13th CPC Central Committee, Dalian City decided to do something practical for the purpose of combating corruption and running clean administration. This was welcomed and supported by the masses. But some people were worried that this decision would be implemented perfunctorily, so they lacked confidence in this regard. On the one hand, the city party committee and party organizations in the city carried out propaganda among the masses; and on the other hand, they openly dealt with typical cases. During the enforcement of the "Notice" of the Supreme Court, the Supreme Procuratorate, and the Ministry of Public Security, 431 people in the city surrendered themselves to the government, embezzled funds totaling 3.8 million yuan were recovered, and three mass rallies were held in the city to announce punishment of economic criminals, all boosting the morale of the masses. But some units slackened their efforts in implementing this Notice, so the masses were worried that the struggle against corruption would end perfunctorily because of this laxity. To cope with this tendency, the city took a "zero action" against criminals who refused to surrender themselves to the government within the time limit prescribed by the Notice. As a result, 73 people were put on trial. In the meantime the city party committee made it clear that the "zero action" was not the "end of action"; the struggle against corruption would continue in a profound and sustained manner. This helped strengthen the masses' confidence. But not long after this, some people in society said that the "zero action" had a "leftist" nature and had gone beyond the limits. The city's relevant

department held a news briefing to announce the results of investigations and trials conducted for the above people. This enabled the masses to see the achievements of the "zero action" and to dispel their misgivings. Due to the guidance provided by the Dalian City party committee, the masses' momentum in combating corruption has remained undiminished. During the enforcement of the Notice, the monthly crime report rate increased sixfold over the same period of last year. From the deadline of the Notice to the end of May this year, law enforcement institutions in the city received 10,263 crime reports from the public, an increase of 23 percent over the Notice enforcement period. In providing guidance, Dalian City can also correctly handle the relations between combating corruption and developing the economy, thus protecting the masses' initiative in reform, making a distinction in applying policies, clarifying the view that sets the anticorruption struggle against economic development, and stabilizing the minds of cadres and masses.

Relying on and guiding the masses in combating corruption means setting higher demands on party organizations and leading cadres. Comrade Bi Xizhen, secretary of the city party committee, said with deep feeling that the determination and exemplary role of leaders are key factors determining whether they can rely on and mobilize the masses. If party organizations are incompetent in the face of corruption and leading cadres are not clean in money matters, the masses will not obey them, and it is impossible to rely on or guide them in the struggle against corruption. On the question of combating corruption for the last few years, the leading group of the Dalian City party committee has taken a clear-cut stand, made unwavering efforts, and tackled difficult problems. It has set strict demands on itself and persists in running clean administration, thereby enjoying the trust and support of the public. As many comrades in Dalian City said, if leaders are determined to combat corruption, the masses will have confidence; if leaders make real efforts, the masses will tell the truth; if leaders are upright in their deeds, the masses will be full of energy.

#### **Forming New, Effective Methods of Relying on the Masses**

Apart from resolving the problem of understanding on the question of relying on the masses in combating corruption, the means and methods should also be resolved. Our party has the fine tradition of establishing close ties to the masses and has formed some effective methods of relying on the masses. It is necessary to put these into practice. Many new situations have arisen in the course of reform and opening up, we are therefore required to sum up our experience and create new methods. In this way we will be able to systematize and regularize the struggle against corruption. The Dalian City party committee and party organizations at all levels have made useful explorations in this respect. Their experiences are mainly as follows:

By relying on the masses, a system has been established to assess party members and leading cadres. For the last few years, Dalian City has exercised many kinds of system to assess cadres and has scored good results in this respect. In early 1988, they began to explore new methods of assessing cadres, including the system of appraising cadres' party style and party discipline, which is an effective measure for party organizations to exercise supervision over leading cadres by relying on the masses. Appraisals are made by Discipline Inspection Commissions with graded responsibility, starting from cadres administered by the city party committee to secretaries and deputy secretaries of grassroots party branches. The main method is making direct contacts to solicit the opinions of party members, cadres, and masses in the units the relevant leaders work in. This proceeds in coordination with democratic assessments of cadres, including reviewing letters from the masses and interviews granted to them, and attending democratic meetings of leading cadres, so as to form a comprehensive appraisal. Then an appraisal report will be filed and submitted to the party committee, which will disseminate a circular to the relevant departments. Over the last two years, 6,974 party members and cadres in the city have been appraised, 214 of them being party members and cadres at the level of deputy bureau chief, and 347 leading groups at the county level have been appraised. 53 percent of the number of leading groups to be appraised. Through appraisal, party organizations can find out about the style and discipline of leading cadres, who, on their part, will improve their self-control ability and do their best to observe law and discipline, to perform their official duties honestly, and to run administration for the people. Whenever there are violations of discipline, prompt criticism and education will be given so as to nip problems in the bud. During an appraisal, the Zhuanghe County Discipline Inspection Commission discovered that the former director of the county commercial bureau, who was also a member of the county party committee, had bought a house for himself with public money. After verification, a serious intraparty warning was given to him and the house was confiscated for public use. During a recent appraisal of a party committee's leading group, the city Discipline Inspection Commission discovered that some leading cadres were dishonest in their conduct and that malpractices were serious. The city party committee instructed this leading group to conduct criticism and self-criticism and make a thorough self-examination. It also adjusted members of the leading group.

A mass supervisory information network has been established in the city. Mass supervisory groups have been formed in administrative supervisory departments, economic supervisory departments, and public welfare departments throughout the city. A supervisory information network on party style and party discipline began to be built in the urban and rural areas last year. This is an effective method to supervise party organizations, party members, and leading cadres. Personnel engaged in supervisory information work should either be party

members or nonparty members who maintain ties to the masses, dare to report on the relevant situation, and enjoy a certain reputation inside and outside the party. So far 11,476 information network centers with 27,943 information personnel have been set up in the city. Working at the grassroots level all year round, these personnel provide reliable information about party members' and cadres' dishonesty in performing their duties. Some of them resolve problems on the spot if possible, or will otherwise report to the higher authorities if an immediate settlement is impossible, to prevent these problems from worsening and harming the masses' interests. The Jinzhou Prefectural Discipline Inspection Commission uses various methods to train supervisory information personnel and guide them in work, thus enabling them to play an effective role in combating corruption and encouraging clean administration. Last year 26 of the 55 cases involving breaches of discipline were put on file by the commission according to the clues provided by these personnel.

A mass crime report system has been established and is being improved in the city. The Dalian City party committee regards the reporting of crimes by the masses as a basic method to combat corruption and encourage clean administration. Crime report centers have been set up in the city, counties, and prefectures. Cases involving breaches of discipline reported by the masses in the city account for about 70 percent. To bring into full play the role of the crime report system, the city party committee pays attention to summing up experience in order to improve it. The first point is presenting material rewards to those who do well in reporting crimes. Early this year 59 people were presented with 28,000 yuan in rewards. The second point is dealing severely with people who retaliate against those who report crimes. Last year they dealt with typical cases of retaliation and openly handled those involved in these cases, thus encouraging uprightness and protecting the masses' democratic rights. This aroused strong reactions in the city. The third point is announcing the results of the cases reported by the masses. The results of investigations into typical cases causing strong reactions are announced within a certain time frame to let the masses understand how matters stand, to solicit their opinions, to let them know leading organs' attitudes toward the cases they have reported, and to raise their initiative in reporting crimes.

An open office-management system has been formed. Office rules and regulations as well as office management results are announced to provide conditions for the people to participate in or comment on administration. This is an important way to strengthen clean administration. Dalian City's purpose in establishing the open office-management system is to let the masses know office rules and regulations and the results of office management, to let them exercise extensive and effective supervision, to stop cadres from exceeding their rights, and to enable party and government cadres as well as all other government functionaries to properly exercise their rights. While carrying out this work, they take

serious account of the supervisory role of People's Congress deputies, members of the CPPCC, and press circles. These people are frequently invited to meetings and discussions on major issues and the formulation of policies. Last year the city government invited some 1,300 People's Congress deputies and CPPCC members to the relevant meetings. This year the city government has been more active in carrying out this work. Comrade Wei Fuhai, deputy secretary of the city party committee and mayor, has gained rich experience. In his opinion, in a social environment where reform, opening up, and the planned commodity economy are being developed, there are more opportunities for party and government cadres to exercise their rights improperly. A severe test facing us is whether we can resist the corrosive influence of decadent bourgeois ideas and style. Under such circumstances, it is necessary to create as many favorable conditions as possible for the masses to exercise effective supervision over our work, particularly over policymaking. This is of vital importance to absorbing political nutrition from the masses' opinions, to ensuring the healthy development of reform, opening up, and economic construction, to guaranteeing that the party and the government will honestly put into effect the principle of serving the people wholeheartedly, and to preventing the occurrence of conduct running counter to the people's interests.

The CPC Central Committee's "Decision on Strengthening Relations Between the Party and the Masses" points out that "the mass line characterized by everything for the masses, everything relying on the masses, and from the masses to the masses, which has been created and developed by the party in the course of protracted struggle, is a fundamental work line to materialize the party's ideological, political, and organizational line, is a fine tradition of the CPC, and is its political strong point as well." In the course of combating corruption and encouraging clean administration, party organizations at all levels and every leading cadre should conscientiously implement the party's mass line. Dalian City has achieved gratifying results and provided much enlightenment to others, although there is still much room for improvement in its experience.

#### A Good Form of Building Socialist Spiritual Civilization in Rural Areas—Investigation of '10-Star-Grade Civilized Peasant Household' Activities in Xinyang County

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[Article by Qin Shuh (4440 2885 3810) of the Henan Provincial Academy of Science]

[Text] To effectively speed up socialist spiritual civilization in rural areas, the Xinyang County CPC Committee and government, in consideration of the peasants' ideology and in line with the party's rural policies and the task of promoting cultural and ideological progress, initiated a "ten-star-grade" movement. The movement

was well received by many peasants and gained apparent results, providing a brand-new form and way for building spiritual civilization in rural areas.

### I. A Trial That Served To Blaze a Trail

Since the Third Plenary Session of the party's 11th Central Committee, Xinyang County, spurred by the policy of reform and opening up to the outside world, had rapidly developed economically. Annual per capita income was 68.6 yuan in 1978 and jumped to 511 yuan in 1989, a sixfold increase in 11 years, markedly improving the peasants' livelihood. But relaxed ideological and political work gave rise to a number of problems and contradictions: Some peasants had less faith in socialism, became indifferent to national and collective interests, failed to differentiate good from evil, and confused truth and falsehood. There were constant contradictions between cadres and the masses and between neighbors, the party's policies could not be effectively enforced, cadres found it difficult to perform their normal duties, the general mood of society was in question, and the public order situation was grim.

To solve these problems, Xinyang County used and spread the experience that had proved useful in many localities, such as selecting "families who acquitted themselves well in five respects"; "mothers and daughters-in-law who got on well with each other"; "households that made outstanding achievements in building material and spiritual civilizations"; and "households who strictly observed the law." These activities played a positive role in building socialist culture and ethics, but they had only simple contents and proved less effective in educating peasants. As a result, the county remained unchanged politically and ideologically.

To find a way out, the Xinyang County CPC Committee and government sent some departments concerned to grassroots units in the countryside to find out what the difficulties were with the work in rural areas, how the masses thought, and what question was uppermost in their minds. They profoundly realized that the following sentiments prevailed among the masses: First, they cherished the memory of the general mood in society and personal relations in the 1950's and 1960's. Second, they complained that prices of manufactured goods were too high, while those of agricultural products were too low. Third, the bad public order made them nervous. This notwithstanding, the peasants had an ardent love for the party and had firm faith in it. They hoped the party and government would continually lead them to deepen the reform and take effective measures to hold in check the spread of individualism, selfishness, gambling, superstitions, and other antiquated practices; promote cultural and ideological progress in a deep way; improve the general mood in society; and build a civilized and secure social environment. In a word, socialism must occupy the rural positions.

To promote cultural and ideological progress in a deep way in the countryside, where should we first direct our

main efforts? Xinyang County leadership believed that peasant households have become relatively independent economic entities since the system of contracted responsibilities on the household basis with remuneration linked to output was introduced in the countryside. They have played a role not only in production and social life but also in education, thus, building spiritual civilization in the countryside should begin with peasant households. Cadres should visit peasant families and do ideological and political work. They should comprehensively improve the peasants' ideological and moral quality by taking civilization to peasant families. Xinyang County leadership summarized the problems which were of great public concern and called for immediate solution of 10 points and decided to carry out comprehensive education on socialism based on the 10 points among the peasants.

Deriving inspiration from the "four-star" or "five-star" hotels, they decided to divide educational elements into 10 parts and mark each part with a red star. On the board showing the star grades, each star had a fixed position and acquired a particular connotation. The first star Love the party, the country, socialism, and the collective; second, pay great attention to cultural education to improve man's quality; third, apply scientific and technological achievements to agricultural production and try to become prosperous through labor; fourth, acquire knowledge of and observe the law; fifth, eradicate superstition and change prevailing habits and customs; sixth, late marriage and childbirth and good prenatal care; seventh, family harmony and good relations between neighbors; eighth, be industrious and thrifty in managing a household and build an enterprise through arduous effort; ninth, be benevolent and willing to bring benefit to fellow villagers; and 10th, protect the environment and pay attention to hygiene. These elements, which contained particulars ranging from the party's principles, policies, and laws to locally applied regulations, basically included every aspect of work in rural areas. The educational content was more inclusive, specific, comprehensive, and systematic, and had a perceivable form compared with the past movement, which was characterized by simple educational content and single-item competition. Those who met the educational requirements received a red star to affirm their achievements and commend them, while those who failed were given a yellow star to encourage them. Every household had a star grade board clearly showing their strong points and defects, implying commendation and criticism. Such a practice furnished the drive to promote cultural and ideological progress with a distinctive feature of the times and a rich local flavor. Xinyang County leadership called this practice of building socialist spiritual civilization, which they had created with particular features, the "drive to become 10-star civilized peasant households," or the "10-star-grade movement" for short.

The guiding ideology for the "10-star-grade" movement was: Under the guidance of the spirit of the Fourth Plenary Session of the party's 13th Central Committee

and for the purpose of carrying out the party's principles and policies, a method of deciding a star grade for a particular peasant household was applied to encourage peasants to educate themselves and each other in a bid to improve the general mood of rural society, expand productive forces, cultivate new peasants "with four virtues," and build a new socialist countryside. To provide better guidance for the movement, a leading group responsible for comprehensive socialist education was organized, grouping principal leaders of party committees and governments at the county and township levels. A related office which arranged for and inspected the "10-star-grade" movement and routine work was set up. The office was composed of competent cadres with the county's leading committee for building spiritual civilization playing a principal role. In conducting education, they followed the line: "Carry out education through positive examples and self-education, put education first; make education reside in passing judgment on peasant households, urge peasants to make progress through passing judgment on each other, and combine education, passing judgment, and correcting mistakes." They also called for the masses to grade themselves according to related requirements. Their self-assessments would be discussed and their grade decided by other peasants before they could openly hang a star on their "star grade board." The county authorities tried to do the work well at the experimental unit, summed up experience, and then spread it gradually. From July last year until March this year, they carried out "10-star-grade" assessment activities in 303 administrative villages across the county and solved many difficult problems and made remarkable achievements. The practice enjoyed enthusiastic public support and was praised by superior party organs, experts, and scholars concerned. At present, every peasant household has a "star grade board" on the wall. The sparkling red star is like a mirror reflecting the style and features of every peasant household as well as the whole countryside.

## II. Comprehensive Effects

The "10-star-grade" movement, a method of conducting socialist education, combined education on policies and legal system, ideological education, traditional education, and cultural education together in terms of content, and, in terms of form, closely combined social education, family education, and individual education, thus achieving positive comprehensive social results. This practice enhanced the peasant masses' ideological consciousness. The system of contracted responsibility linked to production practiced in the countryside brought about a profound change in production and distribution. In the past the state and collective "gave" something to the peasants and now the state and collective "asked" the peasants "for" something. Influenced by the private ownership mentality and small producers' narrow-mindedness, some peasants again thought only of themselves rather than the national and collective interests and refused to deliver grain to the state. More and more peasants had been behind in delivering grain

for a long time and had even taken forcible possession of public property. This worried many other peasants. They said, "The farmland has been divided, the collective has disintegrated, the masses are not of one mind, and the farther we have followed the road of collectivism, the narrower the road has turned out to be. If the situation goes on like this, how can we take the socialist road?" Focusing on all the matters of greatest concern to the peasants, the authorities, through the "10-star-grade" educational movement, helped them replace the small producers' tendency toward capitalism still found in their socialist ideology and guided them in alleviating conflicts of interest and social contradictions so that they would conscientiously defend national and collective interests.

—In the past, some people said, "Articles, money, and villagers are all public property. If you do not make them your own, it is your fault." As a result, some peasants vied with each other in taking forcible possession of public property. A total of 12 electric motors collectively owned by Huahé Village, Liuhe Township, suddenly vanished. The "10-star-grade" activities rekindled peasants' love for the collective. Peasants who had come to see their mistakes returned all the electric motors within a few days.

When the system of contracted responsibility linked to production was introduced, some people said that, "since everyone has his piece of land, they will only take care of themselves." Some peasants bought television sets, automobiles, and tractors when they made big money, but they delayed debt repayments to the collective and state for years. The "10-star-grade" educational movement made peasants realize that they owe their prosperity to the party's policies rather than to any individual. They should not forget the state and collective when they become rich. The peasants now regard selling contracted grain to the state and paying reasonable contributions to retention funds as a specific expression of love for the party, country, and collective. They repaid their debts and delivered the grain under contract to the state on their own initiative. A peasant in Sishui Village had owed a total of 900 yuan to the collective since the village had gone cooperative. He repaid the money in the course of the "10-star-grade" movement. According to incomplete statistics, during the "10-star-grade" movement, peasants paid off debts totaling 1.35 million yuan and delivered 117,000 jin of contracted grain.

—"Rural cadres have two tasks to perform: Pursuing the birth-control policy and changing peasants' concepts on land handed down by their forefathers." These two tasks have been the greatest headache for basic-level cadres because they concern the masses' immediate interests. When the "10-star-grade" movement was launched, those women of childbearing age who had gone into hiding before conscientiously went to the clinic to see whether they had conceived or underwent sterilization operations. The peasants themselves now pushed forward the family planning campaign. Under

the influence of the private-ownership mentality the peasants had thought that the land on which their houses were built was handed down by ancestors, so many peasants had refused to turn it over to the state even when they had been allocated new houses, resulting in a prodigal waste of land. The "10-star-grade" movement helped them to do away with their old ideas about the home base and raised their consciousness. Since the "10-star-grade" campaign, a total of 400 mu of arable land has been recovered from the home base. The "10-star-grade" movement has rationalized relations, alleviated contradictions, and helped maintain social stability. The campaign has standardized the specific requirements for building socialist spiritual civilization in rural areas and changed them into a peasants' code of conduct, effectively easing many contradictions in social life.

Over the last few years, as contradictions in the countryside increased, some cadres lacked patience in their work and were stiff in manner, and one or two cadres were even guilty of corruption. Many peasants had a lot of complaints about them. The masses said "that some people have meat for their meals but still curse loudly is not because the meat does not smell sweet, but that they have pent-up complaints." Though the cadres were thought to be "awfully busy meeting emergencies, overcoming difficulties, and solving knotty problems," all they got in return were "ear-piercing complaints, curses, and accusations." In consequence, they were in low spirits and some even planned to "resign." Party members failed to play an adequate exemplary role and party organizations at the grassroots level failed to play the role of fighting fortresses.

The "10-star-grade" campaign was a comprehensive examination for cadres and party members at the grassroots level. During the campaign, they had to act as ordinary villagers, taking part in assessment meetings and openly exposing contradictions and problems in their families, ideology, and work. They had to set high demands on themselves and accept criticism from other villagers. Wei Suisheng, party branch secretary in Maozhai Village told fellow villagers at the assessment meeting, "This village's water conservancy facilities have been destroyed over the past years. This is my fault. I am to blame. I failed to meet the demand of bringing benefits to villagers required by the ninth star. I cannot accept it and will strive for it next year." His candor and sincerity moved the masses and the protracted contradiction between cadres and the masses thawed accordingly in the democratic and frank atmosphere. Estrangement ended, and the psychological channels were cleared, thus raising the party's prestige. Just as a village cadre put it, "The '10-star-grade' movement has brought cadre relations with the masses closer. It is now easy to serve as a cadre and to lead the masses."

The "10-star-grade" campaign has caused the peasant masses to realize their status in the family and the commitments they should carry out so that they can

conscientiously handle family contradictions and readjust family relations in accordance with the "10-star-grade" requirements. A couple aged over 70 in Gaocun Village brought a lawsuit against their three sons and daughters-in-law at the county and urban courts because the latter had failed to support them for seven years. Although judgment had been delivered in favor of the old couple, it was not put into effect. During the "10-star-grade" movement, the three brothers checked their behavior against the "10-star-grade" requirements and realized that they were immoral in refusing to support their parents and that such behavior was also a violation of the law. After discussion, the three agreed that they would each supply 200 yuan and 220 jin of grain for their parents a year. They also worked out a related agreement and asked the local public security and mediation committee to exercise supervision over implementation of the agreement. Free from their apprehensions, the old couple said to everyone they ran into, "The '10-star-grade' educational movement has saved us. It is really marvelous." Friction or disputes are often found between parents and children, husband and wife, mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, wives of brothers, and neighbors. Courts or cadres more often than not fail to solve such problems which seriously affect the normal life and production of the people concerned. Nevertheless these problems were settled to a great degree through the "10-star-grade" movement. During the campaign many adversaries of over 10 years apologized and shook hands with each other at the mass rallies. At present, you can see people close ranks, help each other, and rescue the endangered and succor the poor everywhere in Xinyang County. Zhao Xigui, from Xie Village, Wangcun Township, was in danger of having a relapse and needed an operation, but he could not afford the hospital expenses. The family was at a loss. As soon as a rural cadre reported the case at a mass meeting, the participants said that they must contribute money to send Xigui to the hospital. In a minute they pooled 550 yuan to solve Xigui's difficulty. Among the donors were cadres, party members, villagers, old people, and even children. All of them, old and young, male and female, were very sincere and ready to help. The scene was really touching. An old woman called Chai, 73, fished one yuan, which was tightly wrapped, from her pocket and handed it over to a village group leader. She said, "My money is too little. This is a token of my support." Because Aunt Chai had accrued the money fen by fen, all present said, "The money is not little!" The one yuan gave expression to Aunt Chai's thoughts and feelings and the mental attitude of residents of Xie Village following the "10-star-grade" movement.

For a time, public order was a problem of popular concern. Over the last few years some peasants, lacking legal awareness, pilfered, pried open doors, and held up pedestrians, depriving the villagers of a sense of security. The "10-star-grade" movement attached importance to education on observing discipline and the law, with the result that the peasants' legal awareness was strengthened and crimes were greatly reduced. Criminal cases

across the county were 23.6 percent lower than the previous year. In Jijiazhai Village, Chengguan Township, a gang of young people had pried open peasants' doors, making the villagers feel ill at ease. After education they realized they had broken the law and decided to stop doing evil. Since the "10-star-grade" movement, nothing has been lost in the county. A peasant from Ershipu Village said, "During the autumn harvest last year, we stayed in our cornfield every day. Five rows of corn were lost one day when we failed to keep watch when meeting an emergency at home. Since the '10-star-grade' movement this year, I have not been to the cornfield, but nothing was lost."

A civilized and healthy custom has taken initial shape. Peasants had surplus money in their pockets when the economy was revitalized, but we failed to imbue them with correct ideas. Some peasants had greatly improved their material life but they lacked spiritual ballast. They raised money to build temples, gathered fellow villagers to gamble, and weddings and funerals were presented with a greater and greater fanfare. Starting with raising peasants' ideological and cultural level, the "10-star-grade" movement strengthened the peasants' scientific consciousness, helped them to realize the harmfulness of gambling, and guided them to keep up the practice of plain living and hard struggle and carry forward the traditional virtue of being industrious and thrifty in managing a Chinese peasant household. The movement proved effective in holding in check the above malpractices and facilitated the formation of civilized and healthy social customs.

—In the past, a few rural cadres took the lead in contributing money to build temples, the number of temples kept increasing, and witches and wizards swindled and bluffed. Since the "10-star-grade" movement, the masses have dismantled 10 temples and 80 percent of witches and wizards have given up their business and are leading new lives. A peasant in Ershipu Village lived on "supplying things the dead supposedly needed." During the movement, he told fellow villagers, "Those articles were made of paper. A match will burn them out and the dead will never have them. From now on I will never again do such fraudulent business."

—Gambling is a bad habit from the old society. Some people dreamed of getting rich through gambling but only ended up with losing a family fortune overnight. Others tried to seek mental comfort in the casino but they went to rack and ruin. Gambling was like a pestilence corrupting the souls of people and social values. An investigation shows that a few years ago gambling was found in almost all villages in Xinyang County, with the stakes ranging from a cigarette, to a candy, to 1,000 yuan. In some villages, 50 percent of the peasant households organized gambling, and old and young, male and female were involved. The malpractice persisted despite repeated punishment by the public security organs. Since the "10-star-grade" movement, those who had been addicted to gambling

have washed their hands of the bad habit. A wealthy staff member of a village-run enterprise in Qianxin Village, Wangcun Township, regularly organized gambling in his home and turned a deaf ear to his wife's complaints and his children's advice. The "10-star-grade" movement made a great impact on him and enabled him to realize that gambling was illegal. He said bitterly at a mass meeting, "In the past I took the lead in organizing gambling in this village, set a bad example to many young people, and spoiled my family harmony. I am sorry for giving my wife, children, and you all so much trouble. I pledge not to gamble again!" Under his influence, dozens of young people said that they too would give up gambling. According to incomplete figures, during the "10-star-grade" campaign, the peasants closed 114 gambling houses on their own initiative and 6,600 decided to give up gambling.

—The laboring people do not like ostentation and extravagance. In the old society, laboring people were not qualified to compete with each other in displaying their wealth. Ostentation and extravagance are bourgeoisie ways of life. The fact that peasants compete with each other in parading their wealth is a result of the corrupt ideology of the exploiting class having spread unchecked. Many peasants were compelled to go in for ostentation and extravagance. The masses said, "The craze to emulate the bourgeoisie has been too much for us for a long time. When someone organizes a celebration, it is a great headache for us to present a gift as a token of congratulation, and, when we ourselves organize a celebration, we are up to our eyes in debt. But if we are not extravagant with our money in organizing a celebration, we are afraid that other people will look down upon us. We are really in an awkward predicament!" The situation turned for the better during the "10-star-grade" campaign. Some 1,300 peasant households celebrated a wedding or held a funeral in a simple way, saving a total of 547,000 yuan. Zhang Fengxian, from Duanfang Village, Wangcun Township, planned to invite two bands to play Chinese percussion instruments to mourn her dead mother-in-law and to prepare "high-grade furniture," which her mother-in-law supposedly needed so that the dead would feel "honored." It happened that the "10-star-grade" campaign was under way. She asked village cadres to organize a memorial meeting for her mother-in-law, replacing Chinese percussion instruments with funeral music and doing away with the "high-grade furniture." Several hundred villagers attended the memorial meeting and the director of the villagers committee gave a memorial speech. The meeting was held in a solemn and respectful atmosphere. It served to mourn the dead and educate the living. Zhang Fengxian later said to everyone she came across, "No matter how many bands I would have invited and no matter how elegant the 'furniture' might have been, they would be no match for the memorial meeting in terms of honoring the dead." At

present, in Xinyang County, a memorial meeting is invariably held to mourn the dead. This has become "a fashion of the day."

The "10-star-grade" campaign has aroused anew the peasants' political zeal and enthusiasm for construction. In the countryside over the last few years it was very difficult to call a meeting, organize collective activities, and do something for public welfare. The "10-star-grade" movement did solid things for the peasants by taking their actual conditions into account, regarded the masses as the main body of the campaign, and depended upon them to carry out self-education, rekindling the peasants' political enthusiasm.

First, the masses were ready to take part in collective activities and rekindled their enthusiasm for political study. The masses enthusiastically familiarized themselves with the elements of the "10-star-grade" movement, discussed the movement, and assessed fellow villagers according to requirements of the movement. Every peasant and household studied the content, which was divided into 10 parts, so that they could comprehensively understand the elements of the movement and accurately grade fellow villagers in line with requirements. Whoever you ran into in any village could accurately tell you the complete content of the "10-star-grade" movement. A 60-year-old woman in Xiaowu Township could recite almost word for word the 10 elements of the "10-star-grade" movement. In the past, many rural cadres considered calling a mass rally the most difficult thing of all. During the "10-star-grade" movement when villagers were told over the wired broadcast network to gather for a meeting, they would come to the meeting place immediately as compared with the past practice by which cadres had to go from door to door to hurry them up.

Second, the villagers have strengthened their consciousness of democracy and dared to conduct criticism and self-criticism. What deeply impressed us was that peasants were much more broad-minded than before. They did not evade contradictions and dared to look squarely at their shortcomings and weak points. Though the saying is "do not wash your dirty linen in public," they would answer candidly if you asked them, "How many stars do you still need? What is the reason?" In grading others, they would name names in pointing out others' strong and weak points, no matter whether they were party members, cadres, or ordinary villagers, adequately displaying their simple and honest ideological style.

Third, the peasants were concerned with the reform, party building, and national stability. They hoped the party would eliminate corruption within the party and do a good job in educating party members. Some peasants said, "We were discouraged over the party's reduced prestige among the masses. We seized state power and engaged in socialist construction for the last 40 years under party leadership. We still need party leadership in continuously taking the socialist road. We did not have

any judgment of our own when we found some party members tarnishing their image and the party losing its former appeal. The '10-star-grade' campaign made us realize that the party and government could find a way to overcome the difficulty, and this served to boost our confidence."

The "10-star-grade" campaign turned the peasants' political enthusiasm, which had run high, into enthusiasm for construction, pushing forward production and cultural construction in the county. Since the system of contracted responsibility on a household basis with remuneration linked to output was introduced, the collective economy has been weakened in many places and conservation projects related to agriculture had not been repaired for a long time. The "10-star-grade" movement served to organize the masses anew and aroused their enthusiasm for production. What had been planned but remained undone, was done. The peasants vigorously went into action. They built irrigation canals, dug motor-pumped wells, built roads and bridges, leveled land, and engaged in farmland capital construction in a big way. Some peasants, who had already become rich, enthusiastically made investments and bought tractors, farm machines, pesticide, and chemical fertilizers for the collective. Li Jushan, a specialized household in Chu Village, Jiayu Township, told several other specialized households, "The party's policy has caused us to become prosperous first; we should help other people to become rich." He gave 10,000 yuan as a contribution to the collective for the purchase of support equipment for the motor-pumped wells. This solved the irrigation problem and supplied tap water for 1,000 people in the village. Li Xilin, a specialized household in Han Village, Wangcun Township, donated 30,000 yuan for digging wells and building roads; villagers of Mugou Village, Gaoshan Township, contributed 1.78 million yuan toward making repairs at an irrigation station. According to incomplete statistics, since the "10-star-grade" campaign, the peasants have contributed 1.78 million yuan toward water conservancy projects, invested 540,000 working days, built 210 kilometers of roads and 210,000 meters of irrigation ditches.

With the "10-star-grade" campaign, the peasants developed a vigorous campaign for cultural progress. A responsible member of the county government said, "Xinyang County has eliminated illiteracy. The quality of teaching is quite satisfactory and the masses are quite enthusiastic about education. During the '10-star-grade' campaign, we decided that those who 'respect teachers and pay great attention to education' could receive the second star, a comparatively prominent honor. This complied with the peasants' desires and demands." The masses said, "We lag behind in this respect and that, but the last thing we want is to lag behind in education!" The masses pitched into action to build schools. In Xida Village, Wangcun Township, a school with an investment of hundreds of thousands of yuan is under construction. Incomplete figures show that, during the "10-star-grade" campaign, the peasants pitched in 1,248

million yuan to run the school, erecting more than 10 classrooms. Accordingly, mass cultural activities came to life. The intervillage basketball round robins in Wangcun Township have been going on for months. Many villages have organized ballgame teams. Cultural centers and libraries have been developed and enlarged. All this has provided favorable conditions for enriching peasants' cultural life and improving their inner world.

### III. Successful Experience

Xinyang County's "10-star-grade" campaign gave expression to the integration of originality and a practical approach, opened up a new practical avenue for promoting cultural and ideological progress in the countryside, and provided new experiences of which we can make use.

First, taking peasant households as the basic units, the "10-star-grade" movement served to guide the in-depth building of socialist culture and development of ideology. Since the system of contracted responsibility on a household basis with remuneration linked to output was introduced, the peasant household has become a relatively independent economic entity. The family has become the main domain for peasants' production and daily life and the necessary link connecting individual peasants to the social community. In carrying out education and exercising management, we have to direct our effort to the family before we can have an effect on individuals. For a period, we only carried out education among the masses and exercised administration of society at the village level and above. This left the communities below village level "unattended." As a result, various policies could not be implemented smoothly. The "10-star-grade" campaign put an end to this situation, not only establishing "civilized villages," but also producing "civilized households." This afforded a more solid social foundation for the building of social culture and ideology in the countryside.

Second, the "10-star-grade" movement integrated efforts to promote material progress and cultural and ideological progress into an organic whole. The peasant household was a production unit and also an educational object. Peasants' ideology was greatly affected by the family, and family style was usually part and parcel of individual personality. Peasants attached great importance to family reputation and every peasant took it upon himself to defend his family reputation. The "10-star-grade" campaign, which took peasant households as the basis for building spiritual civilization, not only effectively helped peasants to raise their ideological level but also guided them to invigorate agriculture by applying scientific and technological achievements, become rich through labor, keep up the practice of plain living and hard struggle, and be industrious and thrifty in managing a household. This promoted a coordinated development of the building of material and spiritual civilizations in the countryside.

Third, the method of hanging a star grade board, which was a novel and perceivable form, was practical and easy for the masses to embrace. During the "10-star-grade" campaign, every peasant was expected to make assessments and every family was graded with "stars." As such an activity tallied with peasants' cultural level and psychological state, and had a perceivable form, it was easy to organize. In terms of content, the "10-star-grade" movement made the task of building spiritual civilization tangible and firm, so the masses could understand and perform the deeds. The "10-star-grade" movement changed the party's policies, the task of building spiritual civilization, and specific work requirements into a practical code of conduct, providing the correct direction to be followed by the peasants in the socialist period.

Fourth, the "10-star-grade" campaign brought the role of collective education into play, conforming to the Marxist-Leninist dialectical standpoints. The building of spiritual civilization and ideological and political work in the countryside is a dialectical and systematic project. We have done a great deal of work and applied different methods in this respect but our efforts had been ineffective. The "10-star-grade" campaign, giving free rein to collective education and approaching the problems in a comprehensive way, combined education on ideals, democracy, legal system, policy, culture, and morals into a whole. Enlisting the assistance of policymaking, legal, cultural and educational, public health, scientific and technological, and land departments, it formed a comparatively complete educational system with all peasant households constituting objects of education. This was a form of comprehensive socialist education. The most important experience in launching the "10-star-grade" movement, which proved successful, was that the content and methods of the movement conformed with materialist dialectics. Just as peasants in Xinyang County put it: The "10-star-grade" movement was characterized by "good content, original methods, high demands, practicality, and effectiveness." It was due to the "correct content, sound methods, and ingenious forms" that the "10-star-grade" movement achieved attractive social results in a short period.

The "10-star-grade" movement created by Xinyang County received great attention from party and government departments concerned and theoretical circles. In April this year, more than 100 experts and scholars from inside and outside the province gathered in Xinyang to discuss the theory and practical significance of developing the "10-star-grade" movement. Many experts believed that the movement reflected many important laws of building socialist spiritual civilization, which are of typical and universal significance. The movement has provided a successful example for promoting cultural and ideological progress in the countryside and its experience is worth spreading extensively in the countryside. Naturally, the "10-star-grade" movement created by Xinyang County was not perfect and left much to be desired. Therefore, while we study and publicize Xinyang County's experience in developing the "10-star-grade" movement, we hope other localities will

create better experience and more effective forms to promote China's socialist cultural and ideological progress in a comprehensive way.

**'Vanguard of the Times' or 'Cultural Crisis'?—On the Basic Nature of Western Modernist Literature**  
**HK0910152490 Beijing QIUSHI /SEEKING TRUTH/**  
*in Chinese No 17, 1 Sep 90 pp 37-42, 24*

[Article by Chen Hui (7115 1979)]

[Text] A debate on the modernist school was launched several years ago. The debate focused throughout on the basic nature of the modernist school: Whether it represented the "vanguard of a new era" and "modernized literature," or a "cultural crisis" arising from capitalist society. Was it a peculiar and morbid literary phenomenon in a specific Western society? Or was it a direction for literary development transcending societies and classes, and shared by mankind? Answers to these questions hinge on the evaluation of Western modern literature, and have a bearing on the orientation of literary creation in our country. If the modernist school is only a specific "cultural crisis" in a specific stage of development in capitalist society, then we can certainly discuss its value and limits in a leisurely way. However, if it is indeed a common path of literary development, applicable to mankind and transcending specific societies and classes, then the rise of modernist intellectual thought, aesthetic principles, and creative methods, will be only a matter of time. The debate has now apparently blown over, but the theoretical problems beneath still await genuine solution; and the intellectual confusion created by the once highly popular intellectual current which endorsed the school without principle, and advocated the same path for the literature of our country, is far from clarified. So, a further, comprehensive study of Western modernist literature with a scientific Marxist view remains an important task for the literary and artistic theoretical circles in our country.

### I

The description of Western modernist literature as a "cultural crisis" is not our invention—it is not even one by Soviet critics. Many Western modernist literature scholars and critics individually reached broadly similar conclusions.

The term "cultural crisis" as attributed to modernist literature means three different things, each on a different level: The first refers to the increasingly deep social crisis in Western capitalist states; the second refers to the spiritual crisis of Western middle-class intellectuals; and the third is that it itself will lead to a crisis and, in fact, has always been in a crisis situation. Professor Carinescu of Indiana University in the United States said, "Modernist aesthetics should be understood as a crisis concept, which stands opposed to bourgeois culture, its tradition, and with itself, which by this time appears a new tradition or new authority. The concept includes these three levels of dialectic contrasts."

The opposition between the modernist school and the so-called "modernity of bourgeois culture"—this, in effect, means that modernists doubted and rebelled against modernized Western capitalist society and its culture, and modernist literature expresses artistically the extremely contradictory and treacherous situation—in other words the social crisis—in capitalist society. Modernism "was born amid an irreversible process of the decline of capitalism." In this "troubled age all symptoms of disintegration and crisis have appeared," and modernist literature artistically expresses Western intellectuals' serious worries and discontent with the crisis of capitalist society and modern culture. Eliot compared the modern world to a wasteland where nothing grows. Joyce considers modern society as beset by many illnesses and modern personality as disintegrated. Kafka accused modern culture of turning human beings into worms or beasts. Lawrence fiercely attacked industrial civilization for suppressing and twisting human nature. The Theater of the Absurd concentrates on portraying how individuals are crushed by vastly inflated material culture. "Humor Noir" novels keep returning to the theme of how the soulless modern man turns modern technology into a destructive force. Some of these opinions may have been a little too radical or biased, but they remain a reflection of the contradictions in capitalist reality. As an "opponent culture" or "rebeling force" modernism can be regarded as part of the "counterculture." "Counterculture" counters the capitalist industrial civilization and its value and standards with passive thinking such as nihilism and anarchism, always evading, however, the root cause of this kind of society and cultural crisis, namely the fundamental problem of social system. Roland Barthes once remarked that the avant-garde had fought against the bourgeoisie order with "aesthetic violence" and "moral violence" but never with "political violence." American black writer John O. Gillins is even more incisive. He said, "The so-called avant-garde are nothing but rear guards in disguise. They do not oppose contemporary society and in effect they are saying that revolutions do not work." A. Adamov, once a major figure in the French Absurd movement, after he had left the movement described what the avant-garde had preached as "total refusal"—"neither this nor that and nothing is right because all of us are going to die anyway"—thus foretelling people's struggle. "Counterculture" therefore does not really favor touching the root cause of social crisis, though its "rebellion" has indeed deepened the chaos and crisis in capitalist society. The appearance of "counterculture" itself signals the disintegration of Western society and culture. Together with the Western mainstream culture, they can be regarded as the two contrasting poles within the capitalist culture, which oppose as well as supplement each other, rise and ebb and replace each other in turn, and thus constitute the basic, seemingly volatile cultural landscape of modern Western capitalist culture. However, every change and replacement has left capitalist society and culture more disintegrated and has deepened the crisis.

The antagonism between modernism and "tradition" refers to the deviation of the school from the bourgeois cultural tradition that originated in the Renaissance. It is a result of the bankruptcy of the traditional bourgeois world outlook and as such is a product of the spiritual crisis of this class. In direct contrast to the Western traditional concept that "man can master nature," modernism sees the world as absurd, hostile to mankind, incomprehensible, and uncontrollable. Unlike the Western traditional humanist concept of "human nature is innately good," modernism insists that "human nature is essentially evil." It is no different from the beasts, and, moreover, cannot be corrected. On human society and its future, modernism differs significantly from traditional romantic and realist literature. Modernist writers are totally disillusioned with capitalist society. At the same time, they are unable to perceive any new social force or to be convinced of the bright future of human beings, and so look at the capitalist crisis as if it were doomsday. Existentialist writers, the Absurd school, and "Humor Noir" novels all take meaningless death and global destruction as mankind's last destiny. Pained by the bankruptcy of the reasoning of the Enlightenment, modernism turns to worship irrationalism and stresses the power of intuition, dreams, hallucinations, and unconsciousness in life and creative activities. Modernism hates the hypocritical Victorian morality, preaches "amoralism," and denies the educational and social functions of art and literature. In action modernists adopt a Bohemian and offbeat lifestyle to show their protest. The modernist views of the world, human beings, society, and art are all imbued with strong skepticism and nihilism, reflecting the state of mind of some Western people: "A total loss of faith in the face of the destructive elements." Western critics sum up all of modernists' "antitraditional" moves under the term "dehumanization." The intellectual foundation of the traditional Western bourgeois culture since Renaissance has always been bourgeois humanitarianism, which sings the praise of "human rights," "reason," "freedom," and "equality," while in reality it confines its faith and worship to the "human beings" of the bourgeoisie. In the 19th century, when Western society entered the stage of monopolistic capitalism, there gradually arose a "dehumanized" intellectual current. "Dehumanization" means the loss of the belief in human beings as "the quintessence of the universe and the primate in the animal kingdom" and, on the contrary, believes that "man" is nothing but what is described by Freud as an irrational "beast" or a pathetic feeble "worm" in the eyes of existentialists: Cruel, cold, mean, and low, and either very selfish or very bad in true nature. The progress from the preaching of traditional humanitarianism to the antitraditional "dehumanization" indicates that the bourgeoisie lost faith and became disillusioned with its own beliefs. It reflects the process of how a once-confident and ascending class changed into a declining one denied of future. But modernist dehumanization cannot solve, but will aggravate, the spiritual crisis in the wake of a bankrupted bourgeoisie humanitarianism. Barzun's criticism is apt here: The tireless

emphasis on "man being an animal" at the expense of man's social nature is a "theme of crisis and decline"; and "when a society is disintegrating, the theme will be continuously repeated in various tones and variations in the ideological field." From Eliot's *Hollow Men* through Joyce's *Ulysses* to existentialist literature and the Theatre of the Absurd, they are all harping on the same theme. But, asked American writer J. H. (?Lawson), "what else can they do apart from convince people that we really are impotent?"

The so-called conflict of modernism with "itself" refers to a series of insoluble contradictions within modernist literature in the manner of a string of fast knots; for instance the contradiction between "modernity" and "antimodernity" inherent in modernism. Its skepticism and criticism, its attachment to artistic creation, and its worry about technological abuses are all positive components in its "modernity." But modernism is often pessimistic about science, progress, mankind, and the future of human society, and this is its "antimodernity," which works against social progress. This "antimodernity" attitude has its rational side, as it shows by exposing the many kinds of evils in contemporary capitalist society and its culture, such as widespread materialism, poverty of spiritual life, and men transformed into slaves to objects. But modernist criticism of Western society often misses the point. It fails to see that the problem lies with the social system, not with human civilization and scientific progress. As a result, they turn away in disgust from the capitalist reality and point an accusing finger at every achievement of the civilization; because they are worried about technological abuses by powerholders, they end up simply opposing science and technology, and because of people's indulgence in creature comforts, they naively dismiss progress in material production. And so Eliot sought refuge in religious souls, Joyce retreated into an ancient mythological world, and Lawrence ran after primitive society in search of a rustic and pastoral world. The "beat generation" in the United States wanted to abandon culture and return to the ancient "communal" time to be "noble savages." Modernism is skeptical and critical about modern capitalist society and culture, and at the same time negates society itself and all civilizations, thus combining in modernism the progressive nature of anticapitalism with the regressiveness of antimodernity.

There is also the contradiction between "rebelliousness" and "docility" within modernism. Modernism is indeed rebellious. Ionesco described it as an "internal enemy" under the existing system. But the rebelliousness of modernism is in the end very limited. Many Western scholars have drawn our attention to it being easily "tamed" by capitalist society. Irving Howe said the battle between modernism and the bourgeoisie is fast disappearing, with "intense hostility giving way to sentimental hugs." "The middle class discovers that they can turn the most ferocious attacks on its value systems by modernism into pleasant entertainment." H. Marcuse said that modern art has been "assimilated" by complicated and all-consuming consumerism, and has become

"a cog among the many in the cultural machine, entertaining and without threat." The remark by the famous American critic L. Trilling is more succinct; he said the bourgeoisie is able to make use of rebelling culture such as modernism, in a way that "what is antisocial ends up social, counterculture becomes culture, and rebellion is legitimized." The reason is that the revolt of modernism has never really transcended the bourgeois spirit. At the most, modernism has been an antitradition effort within the bourgeois ideology, without touching private ownership, the underpinnings of capitalism, nor purged of individualism, its intellectual core. It contrasts sharply with many Western traditional concepts on the surface while, underneath, it shares with them the same intellectual foundation. For example both theories of human nature—one regarding it as ultimately good and another as ultimately bad—are based on idealist *a priori* theory. Another example is traditional rationalism which often attempts to seek "ultimate reason" for political reform in certain ideas in the human brain and the modernist irrationalism which probes for "primal force" for social change in human animal instincts—both are about the same and belong to historical idealism. Marcuse said this type of antitradition adopts a rather "traditional approach." In other words it will only quarrel within the bourgeois cultural tradition, and more often about superficial rather than substantive issues. This also explains why the bourgeois mainstream can tolerate, accept, indulge in, and even praise modernism.

Viewed broadly, modernism keeps "opposing tradition" and keeps forming "new traditions." But whether it is "opposing" or "being new" it has never ventured beyond the great capitalist culture circle and has been performing a duet or new variations within the bourgeois ideological scope. Subjectively, modernism would like to "bravely oppose tradition and convention," but, objectively, it cannot but finally succumb blindly to bourgeois prejudices. Knowing this, we can then understand why Eisenberg judged that "modernism could never produce anything new." Carinescu also said, "The achievements of modernism are bound to be limited and relative, because it opposes the very future it would like to promote." Meyer accordingly called the avant-garde "an art without direction or movement." Owing to its "insoluble internal contradictions" such countercultural phenomena as modernism cannot solve the capitalist cultural crisis, but will continually deepen it. The so-called "tradition of antitradition," in fact, extends and prolongs the capitalist cultural crisis.

Western modernist literature was born in a crisis and has been attended with crisis in growth and change; moreover the crisis is deepening. This is a fundamental fact that we must see. Western modernism has never been what some people in our country naively think: The "vanguard of the new current" that alone is extending new artistic horizons, while others could only piously follow its trail slowly digesting its "creative" fruit.

## II

**Modernist literature as a cultural crisis is expressed in many ways.**

The most obvious sign is the long-term "stagnancy" of modernism. Many Western scholars very early noticed this situation. In his book *Music, Art, and Concept*, Leonard Meyer devoted a whole chapter to the "stagnancy" problem of the avant-garde. He said that what the avant-garde "had long lacked was not novelty and change, but orderly and continual change." He was not asking for absolute stillness, but movements similar to vibrations as seen in "brown movement," which he called "vibrations in a stable condition." In his book *The Five Aspects of Modernism*, Carinescu also devoted a chapter to the "stagnancy" problem of modernism. He said, "There is change everywhere but, culturally, we live in a very quiet world." Indeed, most modernist intellectual concepts, artistic theories, styles, and ways of expression acquired their shape around the 1920's. Thereafter, except for some minor developments, there have not been any major breakthroughs. The intellectual concepts—an absurd world, human nature as basically evil, and doomsday is the only future for mankind—were all put forward in the 1920's when modernism reached its height. As early as 1925 Spanish scholar Ortega y Gasset defined the basic intellectual character of modernism as "dehumanization." Various modernist schools have since been repeating this hackneyed platitude in their own ways. On the level of artistic theory, subjective "expressionism," the symbolistic theory of "the whole universe revolves around me," the irrationalism which sees that art is totally unreasonable, the non-utilitarian theory which stresses that art itself is an end, the "organic formalism" which stresses form over content, and the "demoralization" and all kinds of indiscriminate "anti-tradition," made their appearance around the 1920's. The "new" ideas and "new" theories brandished by schools such as the "Nouveau Roman" are all variations on old themes. As for artistic style and techniques such as the use of fables, symbols, the grotesque, stream of consciousness, juxtaposition of time and space, hyperbole, insanity simulation, paranoid-style criticism, collage, fragmentization, the poetization or prose or musical tendency of novels, and so on, they all appeared at that time. But since then there has not been anything new or worthy. In short, the stagnancy of modernism is a general phenomenon. That is why, Carinescu said, if the old avant-garde before the war "could still be deceiving themselves that they were really exploring new horizons," then "not a trace of such heroism can be detected in the postwar avant-garde."

Another sign of modernism's internal crisis is its increasing vulgarization as an art and its growing similarity with bourgeois popular arts whose only concern is profit. Many Western critics have perceived this lamentable trend. British literary theorist M. Bradley said, "The merging of the avant-garde with popular culture is of major significance." R. Fidler considered that one of the features that marks postmodernism from modernism

is that "the former is now by nature part of the popular culture." Hassan also thought that postmodernism after World War II had grown increasingly "popular." Caroescu devoted a chapter in *The Five Aspects of Modernism* to analyzing the relationship between modernism and vulgar art. He said that the tendency of the two to merge is most strikingly demonstrated in the "popularity standards" adopted by the avant-garde and postmodernism. Around the 1920's there appeared a number of masters such as Proust, Eliot, Joyce, Kafka, and O'Neil. Some of their works are indeed obscure, hard to understand, and difficult for general readers to accept. But one of the outstanding merits unanimously recognized by critics of their works is that they are all refined "noble art." But in the later stages the followers of modernism stopped progressing; moreover, few of them could surpass the masters in artistic achievement, their works were increasingly vulgarized, formalized, and impoverished in artistic quality. The tendency became stronger after surrealism advocated "automated writing." We can compare Lawrence's works written in the 1920's with American novels such as (Ballize)'s *Naked Lunch* in the 1950's, and Basham's *Snow White* in the 1960's. Their subjects are sex. Lawrence's works may be too explicit, but his attitude is serious and the sexual relationships depicted are critical of society, and the description is artistic. The latter two works are frivolous, cynical, and filled with vile jokes. The descriptions are vulgar, even obscene. Vulgarization does not mean popularization. A popular work can be appreciated both by lowbrows and highbrows, is written with utmost care, and is carefully revised and has certain aesthetic value. Vulgar works are badly written and aim to appeal to low tastes, and they all suffer from "aesthetic deficiency syndrome." Vulgarization is the greatest enemy of genuine art. Modernism started out as "noble art" and ended up as "vulgar art," and began with the non-utilitarian program of "art for art's sake" only to succumb to the most vulgar purpose of serving for money. This transformation is worth pondering.

Another feature of modernism is its increasing tendency toward despondence. Despondency is one of the innate features of modernism. It may go a little too far to label modernism as "despondent literature." But to deny that modernism is by nature despondent is equally far from the truth. Despondency adopts a skeptical philosophical attitude toward life, refuses to believe that continuing progress for mankind is possible, and despairs of society and its prospects. In a way it expresses the sense of crisis of the bourgeoisie. The despondent tendency was present at the birth of modernism and has since been growing. E. Hassan has pointed out that, compared with the "orthodox modernism" before World War II, postmodernism after the war was more "anarchistic and more intimately related with things in decline." B. Machere considered that the skepticism of prewar modernism was reflected primarily on epistemology while that of postwar postmodernism on ontology. This is fairly perceptive. It grasps the similar as well as different natures between

modernism and postmodernism. Epistemological skepticism doubts or denies that man can know the world. Leading modernist writer Eliot showed in *The Waste Land*, by means of a symbol in which the members of a family were successively locked into death cells, that the individuals of this world are all like inmates of death cells: Neither able to understand the world outside their prisons nor to communicate intellectually with anybody. This is to preach epistemological skepticism. Ontological skepticism casts doubts on the original nature or the origin of the world, sees the world as empty and unreal. Some of the postmodernist works, for example Alain Robbe-Grillet's *Labyrinth*, Barth's *Lost in the Amusement Park*, Bassermann's *Father's Whispers*, Paine's *V*, and many other absurd plays all compared the world to a labyrinth, elusive and refusing to be pinned down. "Fact mingles with fiction." The world is ontologically absurd and meaningless. Obviously the ontological skepticism of postmodernism is more pessimistic and reflects the deepening spiritual crisis of Western postwar intellectuals. French scholar B. (Adelfou) said that "the writers have lost their faith, and for them the world is no longer a necessity. In their eyes absurdity is as plain a truth as the God that existed yesterday."

Another feature of modernism is its increasing relativism and nihilism. To its credit, modernism denies the existence of a permanent and unchanged aesthetic criterion and artistic paradigm. But it exaggerates relativity, and the temporary and changing nature of aesthetics, and is trapped in aesthetic relativism. In extreme cases it denies all aesthetic criteria, values, and standards, resulting in the loss of "all meaningful categories between old and new, beauty and ugliness, and construction and destruction," and even the distinction between art and non-art. Aesthetic relativism must eventually lead to the denial of art itself. Modernist nihilism also leaves its mark on social thinking and artistic concepts. Hailing anarchist Bakunin's "destruction is creation," they deny every artistic tradition with all-permissive "aesthetic violence," rebel against every artistic rule, to "rebel against art for the sake of rebelling against art." The malignant development of artistic nihilism will eventually lead to the denial of art itself and direct Western literature into a new crisis. O. Patz felt that modernism has a tradition of rebelling against itself. Caroescu thought it has a self-destructive tendency, or one of an "aesthetic death-instinct." Many Western scholars view the short-lived Dadaism as a miniature of the whole avant-garde movement for precisely this reason, that its relativism and nihilism continually draw it toward crisis.

### III

Overall, Western modernism is a "counterculture" phenomenon "derived from the ruling culture" in Western capitalist society, and an abnormal rebellion within contemporary bourgeois literature. It reflects literary nihilism, anarchism, irrationalism, and "dehumanization"—products of the aggravating social and spiritual crisis in the West—and is itself a deepening cultural

crisis. Even in the West it can only define itself as a "minority culture" by opposing the "predominant culture." Though being constantly tamed, absorbed, and assimilated by bourgeois mainstream culture, it has never become the mainstream of Western literature, it had become a part of the whole Western literature, although this is rather an important and considerable part. At any rate, modernism has never been recognized as the direction of Western literary development. Therefore, how can we take it as our direction?

China is a socialist country. What we need is a genuinely new type of literature which can invigorate people and encourage them to advance history. Of course, there is much to learn from Western capitalist literary achievement, including traditionalists and the anti-tradition modernists. But it would be wrong to blindly take one of its schools as the direction of our literary development. We must make a serious study of Western modernism. The value of this "cultural crisis" lies in its reflecting the maladies and crises of Western society and culture. From symbolist poets to Eliot's *The Wasteland*, from existentialist writer Sartre's *Hell through the "Beat Generation"* to the "madhouses," the "labyrinths" of the Nouveau Romans, and the "absurd world" of the Theatre of the Absurd—all of them signify something of contemporary Western society. Therefore, it is entirely necessary to translate and introduce, in a selective and analytic manner, some of the leading modernist works and writers. This will broaden minds, deepen our knowledge, and improve the understanding of our readers, especially youths, of contemporary Western capitalist society. It will also enlighten them on artistic concepts and technique. However, we must resolutely draw a clear line between ourselves and its idealist philosophical concepts, biased literary theories, and all kinds of despondent and negative consciousness. Practice has proved that in literary creation and criticism it is extremely harmful to mechanically apply contemporary Western modernist intellectual systems to our country's socialist spiritual civilization, and is very bad for the healthy development of our country's socialist literature and art. Of course, there is nothing wrong with artistic borrowing. But exact imitation and indiscriminate copying will never do. We must be based on our national situation and tradition and the aesthetic standards of the masses, taking everything foreign as a reference and enlightenment, and develop and enrich our own ways of expression and artistic techniques, and create and cultivate new-age socialist literature with Chinese characteristics.

#### **The Product of Essentials Is Truer Than the Sum of Essentials—Comparison Between Two Methods of Assessment for Awards**

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[Article by Jiang Tao (3068 3447)]

[Text] The methods that factories and shops use to assess awards for workshops and service counters are generally

strict and carried through meticulously, and the method of summing up the appraisal points for essentials is generally employed. For example, there are five essentials, namely, output, quality, profit, consumption, and safety. Giving marks by separate examinations and adding together all the marks are the basis for assessing an award. If 10 points are given for the five essentials, the total will be 50. If eight points are given, the total will be 40. If 10 points are given for four of the essentials and zero is given for the remaining one, the total will still be 40.

In Yushan Town's Industrial Sewing Machine Factory of Changshu City, another assessment method is used, that is, assessment by multiplying the five essentials. They separately examine the five jobs in the workshop, namely, output, quality, profit, consumption, and safety, and give points. Then they multiply the essentials to obtain the product as the basis for assessing awards. If 10 points are given for the five essentials, the total score will be  $10 \times 10 \times 10 \times 10 \times 10 = 100,000$ . If 10 points are given for four essentials and the remaining one is marked zero, the score will be  $10 \times 10 \times 10 \times 10 \times 0 = 0$ . This will make the unit or person with this score unable to get a bonus for the month.

At first, this factory used the award assessment method of adding up the essentials. Factory director Chen Yufeng discovered in enterprise comprehensive administration that some workshops paid attention only to output and profits and were indifferent to quality, consumption, and, especially, safety. Once, an accident occurred at a workshop, adversely influencing the factory and society. However, its output, quality, profits, and consumption basically met the technological and economic targets the factory required. According to the award assessment method of adding up the essentials, they could still obtain 80 percent of the maximum bonus. In this way, they could obtain a higher bonus than workshops where no accident occurred. Despite the accident, they could still get the bonus as they did well in other aspects. And they did not cause a shock to the workshop in which the accident occurred. This caused discontent in other workshops.

How can we change this unreasonable and unscientific assessment method? Chen Yufeng and his assistants remembered the mathematics they had studied: Among quadrilaterals whose circumferences are the same, when the proportions of length and width are different, their areas are different. The squares whose length equals width have the largest areas; as the difference between length and width is enlarged, its area decreases. Suppose there are five quadrilaterals the sum of whose sides is 20, the square whose side is 5 has the largest area:  $5 \times 5 = 25$ . The areas of the remainder are:  $6 \times 4 = 24$ ;  $7 \times 3 = 21$ ;  $8 \times 2 = 16$ ;  $9 \times 1 = 9$ . If a rectangle's width approximates zero, its area will also approximate zero despite the fact that its length is close to 10.

Now, a rectangle's area does not depend on the length of its sides, but on the product of the length and width. Then, should the results of the comprehensive administration of enterprises depend on the addition of various essentials or on their multiplication? Managing personnel of Changshu City's Industrial Sewing Machine Factory favor the latter.

In the discussion, someone quoted Lenin's remark that a chain breaks at the weakest link, and a chain's strength depends on that of its weakest link. With a chain of 10 links, of which nine are strong and one is very weak, the whole chain breaks at this weak link. So, better is a chain whose links have inferior quality but none of which are weak. Some even touched on the "trench principle" of German organic chemist Liebig: How much water a trench can hold depends on the height of its lowest wall. If one wall is particularly low, the water can only reach that height even though other walls are higher.

All this made Chen Yufeng understand a basic principle of systemic science: A system's overall functions do not equal the sum of the functions of all essentials, but depend on the integration of all essentials—structure. In a system when all essentials properly integrate with one another, the overall functions are greater than the sum of the functions of all essentials. When all essentials are not properly integrated, the overall functions are less than the sum of the functions of all essentials. If all essentials in a system are properly integrated, with the result that one essential supplements the others' functions, then a new function will be produced which the essentials themselves do not have—integrated power—so that the essentials' overall functions exceed by far the sum of the essentials themselves. If the structure is bad, the mutual restriction and cancellation among essentials, and the power to combine produces a value of addition that appears negative. This greatly reduces the addition of elements. Chen Yufeng and others held that this basic principle is perfectly applicable to an enterprise's overall management of the various essentials. Determining the amount of bonus according to the product of essentials reflects their interplay and embodies the system's structure and nature, whereas doing this by adding up the essentials is but a simple piling of isolated essentials, which will cover up various harmful structures and be unable to show the system's nature.

Practice has proved that determining bonus amount by multiplying the five essentials has enabled every workshop and individual in the Industrial Sewing Machine Factory of Changshu City to handle their respective affairs with regard to the enterprise's overall interests. The previous practice of striving to come on top in one respect or to take the lead in a couple of respects while forgetting about the rest has largely disappeared. All units and individuals take account of the various requirements for overall management in enterprises and work for overall coordination and comprehensive benefit. Particularly on the weak links where problems often occur, workshops and workers take special care, guarding against "a single short wall keeping the water

level of the whole trench low," or "one careless move losing the whole game." The gaps in the monthly bonuses among workshops and workers are widened; accidents are not repeated; and product quality has improved remarkably, with a decrease in consumption. This factory's industrial sewing machines are on sale in 28 provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions all over the country. Five varieties have entered the international market and are sold to countries as far away as the United States, Brazil, Bangladesh, and Thailand. Displayed all around in the new-product showroom are, besides a spectrum of industrial sewing machines, 88 cups, plates, and certificates as prizes. The most prominent among them are "Star Industrial Enterprise of Jiangsu Province," "Metrologically Qualified Enterprise (Grade Two) of Jiangsu Province," "Advanced Enterprise in Spiritual Civilization of Suzhou City," "Third Prize in Science and Technology Awarded by the Ministry of Light Industry," "Gold-Dragon Prize for New Products Awarded by the State Economic Commission," and "Super-Quality Product Prize Awarded by the Ministry of Light Industry." Last year, the State Council Enterprise Guidance Committee designated this factory a "Grade Two State Enterprise." All these honors points to the effectiveness of the management in this town-operated enterprise. An outstanding expression of their management is that they do not concentrate on one thing only and lose sight of the rest, but make efforts in overall management and coordination. I think their managerial approach agrees with dialectics and is therefore an experience worthy of attention.

#### Why Do We Say That the Integration of Universality With Particularity of Contradictions Is the Quintessence of Contradictions?

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[Article by Zhu Xuan (2612 3763)]

[Text] The theory of contradiction proposed by dialectical materialism in the scientific world view of Marxism not only recognizes the universal existence of contradiction, but also divides contradiction into universal contradiction and particular contradiction when analyzing and defining it; that is, the universality and particularity of contradiction. The former is commonness and absoluteness; the latter, individuality and relativity. The former means that contradiction exists in every domain and process of natural, social, and mental development; the latter refers to the features that set one thing distinct from the others. Comrade Mao Zedong said, "This reason of commonness and individuality, absoluteness and relativity, is the quintessence of the problem of contradictions; not knowing it is equal to giving up dialectics."<sup>1</sup> When we study the problem of contradiction, the most important thing is to grasp the dialectical unity of universality and particularity of contradiction;

that is, the principle of the quintessence of the problem of contradictions of things. This principle includes three aspects.

First, the universality and particularity of contradiction are mutually linked. The universality and commonness of contradiction rest on the particularity and individuality of contradiction. "Individuality must link to generality for its existence. Generality can only exist within and through individuality. Any individuality (no matter what) is a generality."<sup>12</sup>

Second, the universality and particularity of contradiction are distinct from each other. The commonness of contradiction includes only the common and essential things of individuality, not all the elements and characteristics of individuality. "Any generality is an individuality (a portion, an aspect, or an essence). Any generality only roughly includes all individual things. Any individuality cannot be totally included in generality."<sup>13</sup>

Third, the universality and particularity of contradiction can change mutually under certain conditions. Due to the extreme vastness of things and the unlimited possibility of development, the thing which is a universality on a certain occasion and at a certain moment can change to a particularity on another occasion and at another moment, and vice versa.

How then do we know that the quintessence of the problem of contradiction is the integration of universality and particularity of contradiction?

First, the dialectical relations between commonness and individuality, and between absoluteness and relativity, run through every aspect of the problem of contradiction and is the core for studying and understanding the law of contradiction. In various laws of materialist dialectics, and in particular in various conflicts revealed by the law of the unity of opposites, run the relations of dialectical unity of commonness and individuality and of absoluteness and relativity. Only by understanding this reasoning can we understand overall the law of contradiction and correctly grasp the core and essence of materialist dialectics.

Second, the dialectical relations between commonness and individuality and between absoluteness and relativity exist within every matter. The grasping of this principle is a useful weapon for us to reveal the objective contradiction and to correctly understand and solve the actual contradiction. Every matter is the unity of opposites of commonness and individuality, and of absoluteness and relativity. When we try to understand things, we certainly must analyze these two aspects of things and their relations, so as to look for the commonness of things from every individuality, and to profoundly reveal the individuality of everything under the guidance of commonness. Only by so doing can we grasp every aspect of things, correctly understand the law of movement of things, and find the correct methods to solve conflicts and promote development.

Third, the dialectical relations between commonness and individuality, and between absoluteness and relativity, run through mankind's cognition process. Only by recognizing them can we understand the dialectics of cognition and enable materialism and dialectics to integrate organically in the process of cognition. Otherwise, it is easy to fall into relativism and absolutism.

The principle of integration of universality and particularity of contradiction is the important philosophical base for integrating the general principle of Marxism with our country's actual situation—an ideological principle which our party has observed so consistently; it is also the important philosophical reference for building socialism with Chinese characteristics.

As early as 1945, in the Seventh CPC National Congress, our party established the principle of integrating the general principle of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of revolution in China. This was the basic principle and conclusion reached by our party by summing up both the positive and negative experiences and it was an important component of Mao Zedong Thought. Comrade Deng Xiaoping said, at the opening ceremony of the 12th CPC National Congress, that to sum up our country's long-term historical experience, an important idea for discussion was how to integrate the principle of Marxism with our country's concrete and actual situation, to go our own way, and to build socialism with Chinese characteristics. This idea was the concrete application of the principle of contradiction's commonness and individuality and absoluteness and relativity. Since the 12th CPC National Congress it has become the general guiding principle for building our modernized country.

Marxism holds that every matter changes and develops continually. Socialism cannot and will not have a fixed, unchanging model. Every nation will reach socialism; this is commonness and universality. Every nation will have a different path; this is individuality and particularity. So-called socialism with Chinese characteristics means, on the premise of upholding the basic socialist nature and according to the country's situation, selecting and formulating the line, principle, and policy for socialist construction with China's own characteristics, and the important steps, styles, methods, and measures; it is the integration and unity of the basic principle of socialism with China's situation.

Here, one side comprises the basic principle of socialism and its general characteristics, that is, commonness and absoluteness; the other comprises the Chinese characteristics, that is, particularity and relativity. It is necessary to organically unite both on the basis of practice.

China's basic situation is determined by the particularity of the internal conflict in Chinese society. Our country is a big socialist country, developing yet poor, with underdeveloped productive forces, a large population, weak foundation, and low starting point for modernization.

To use a single sentence to sum up our country's situation: We are still at the initial stage of socialism. Despite this, economically, we have built a socialist public ownership system and practiced distribution according to work; politically, we have built the state authority with the people as the masters, and in the area of ideology and culture, we have had Marxism for guidance. All these have embodied the principle of commonness of socialism and its general characteristics and illustrated the characteristics of socialism in our country.

In the course of upholding the integration of the general principle of Marxism and the concrete and actual situation in China, we have made various mistakes resulting from subjectivism and have learned serious lessons. Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, through summing up the past experiences and lessons, our party reestablished the Marxist ideological line of being pragmatic and of proceeding from the actual situation. When upholding the four cardinal principles, we practice reform and opening up and boldly explore the socialist road with Chinese characteristics. For a period of more than 10 years we have insisted on integrating planned economy with market regulation, developed the planned socialist commodity economy, allowed the existence of various economic forms, with public ownership as the mainstay; practiced various forms of distribution, with distribution according to work as the mainstay; strived for political restructuring under the guidance of the party; and grasped both socialist material and socialist spiritual civilizations—the "two civilizations"—and so forth. All these have not only provided abundant and concrete ingredients to socialism with Chinese characteristics, but have also greatly enriched and enhanced the scientific theory of socialism.

To uphold the integration of the general principle of Marxism and the concrete situation of revolution in China and to go the socialist road with Chinese characteristics, it is necessary to staunchly oppose the two erroneous trends of dogmatism and empiricism. Dogmatists separate themselves from the country's situation, or copy indiscriminately from the writings of Marxism-Leninism, or import models from other countries without analysis and examination. Within and without the party, those who have engaged in bourgeois liberalization have tried to introduce to China the political and economic systems and capitalist value concepts of the West. This was indeed dogmatism, or even an older form of dogmatism—worshipping the dogma of the bourgeoisie as an unalterable principle. Certainly, with this in China they could only run into snags and have bleeding heads. "Empiricism means one sees only some concrete practices and experience acquired at a certain time in a certain place or country, without seeing the principle of Marxism."<sup>4</sup> The empiricists rely on a narrow view, take the part as the whole, and "see the trees but not the forest." They insist on one side, consider only one aspect, and generalize individual and partial experiences

as well as making them absolute. Dogmatism and empiricism are the manifestations of subjectivism, and are our great enemy as we build socialism with Chinese characteristics.

#### Footnotes

1. One-volume edition of *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, p. 295.
2. *Selected Works of Lenin*, Volume 2, p. 713.
3. Ibid.
4. These are the words of Deng Xiaoping.

#### Also Discussing the Profession of an Editor

HK0110032790 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH] in Chinese No 17, 1 Sep 90 pp 46-47

[Article by Ye Yanbin (0673 1693 3453)]

[Text] Since literature and art circles and publication circles began to "simultaneously grasp the work of wiping out pornography and prosperity," attention has often been focused on editors. This kind of attention-focusing is not always pleasant. Some people say, "An editor cannot shirk the responsibility if a bad book is published; yet all the credit will go to the author when a good book is published." Especially during a time when the voice calling for a flourishing socialist literature and art is rising—which means more good works and books should be published—this "more" certainly has everything to do with editors, there are more and more complaints, such as "The cleverest housewife cannot cook a meal without rice" and "The cleverest housewife has no money to buy rice for a meal." It should be admitted that lack of good literary contributions as well as the financial situation of the publication industry have brought certain difficulties to the editorial work of literature. However, in my opinion, the fact that some editors fail to have a correct attitude toward their own profession is an unfavorable factor in bringing prosperity to literary creation.

I am a graduate of the "Editorial Department of Literary Works," a professional literary editor by formal training. I learned from my textbooks long ago that editorial art is a kind of comprehensive ability, an outcome of the combination of political, ideological, and policy standards, literary accomplishment, aesthetic tastes, and writing skills. Nearly 10 years of practice as an editor since my graduation from college gives me another professional concept: As an editor, one should have a strong mass viewpoint and a work style of maintaining close ties to the masses. Specifically, "serving the people" here means serving the group of writers contributing to and the group of people reading magazines.

There is a common saying: "Being an editor means sewing the trousseau for others." This saying has two implications. It emphasizes this is a profession that needs people to make self-sacrifices and, at the same

time, emphasizes the sacrifice an editor makes for others. Being an editor myself, I would not say anything like that. In socialist society, I have no idea what kind of profession there is in which people can a sew Rousseau only for themselves. Different professions are nothing but different divisions of labor. Viewed from another angle, it is only because of literature lovers who subscribe to magazines and writers who contribute to them, that I can have this job and that my labor is of some value. That is why I always say on various occasions that a good editor should not only know how to correct characters that are written wrongly, but also know how to make friends with readers and writers. The one who always haggles over how much he has sacrificed for others will not live happily, and the one who always complains that others owe him a debt of gratitude will be a heartless man.

In our making friends with people, it is very important to be sincere and frank, even strict and serious, no matter whether we are with writers or with readers. The title of "editor lords" is caustic, for one cannot be a good editor with the attitude of a lord. In the production and consumption process of spiritual goods, an editor makes direct contact not only with the producers, but also with the consumers. These two "direct contacts" also require an editor to face directly the realistic life of society and the vast number of the masses. The editorial department in which I work receives over 300 literary contributions every day, that means several editors deal with the letters and literary contributions of nearly 10,000 writers every month. If we do not keep to the style of making friends with them, we are bound to be left out in the cold. There used to be a time when some magazines published only the works of some of their "pals." They praised themselves as "literature salons" with every publication as a small coterie. As a result, the masses no longer spent money on subscribing to such magazines, so they claimed to be "pioneers of new tides." ... To be an editor, it is clear to the public in the end whether you are sticking to the orientation of serving socialism and the people, and readers will end up showing no respect for you if you always make promises that you cannot keep.

While learning how to make friends with readers and writers, an editor should also learn to become used to hearing curses for offending some people. All editorial departments of publications which are run with distinctive features and goals are likely to meet with criticism and trouble. Some people will denounce you as "ossified" if you want to adhere to the four cardinal principles, and others will be hypercritical in every possible way with your efforts to encourage people to bring forth new ideas in the arts and to let a hundred flowers blossom. Editors are sure to receive a lot of letters from readers. I would feel it rather "strange" if there were no such letters on my desk one day. When you read these kinds of letters often enough, it becomes such a common thing to you that your heart will not beat faster when reading commendatory letters and your face will not turn red when coming across letters of criticism. When it

comes to effect, letters of criticism are more effective, no matter whether they are well-meaning ones or the ones with ulterior motives. An editor should have the ability to find truth from curses. Only thus can one have a perfect mastery of mass viewpoint. Which issue of this publication has the most wrongly written characters? The slants of which literary works should we pay attention to? Which column is not popular? To be honest, the progress made by literary editors in recent years should really be attributed to these unpleasant words and advice from left and right.

Being selfless in mind, one feels that the whole world is broad and wide. With certain "authority" over approving which literary contributions are to be published, an editor gets along with "fame" every day and runs into "gains" everywhere. How he uses his authority in a correct way is a test of professional ethics for every editor. No matter whether it is a question of work style or one of moral integrity, there is a question of "ethics" anyway. In my opinion, before attaining a realm of selflessness, an editor should at least have self-knowledge, realizing that the outcome of his work—a book or a magazine—will be finally placed on desks. Therefore, in addition to having the masses in his mind, an editor should bear in mind the truth that "everything he does will receive the supervision of the vast numbers of readers in the end." A few years ago, the "ethics" of some of our literary editors descended to books, which were lying on the ground to be sold, talking about women's thighs. We should always take this as the memorandum of our profession.

#### Call of the People, Movement of the Times

HK0110100190 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH] in Chinese No 17, 1 Sep 90 p 47

[Article by Xu Jun (1776 6511)]

[Text] Twenty-six years after the death of Jiao Yulu, a fine party cadre and a good son of the people, and on the occasion of the decision by the Sixth Plenary Session of the 13th CPC Central Committee on strengthening ties between the party and the masses, the book *Jiao Yulu* has been solemnly put on sale by Huaxia Publishing Company. This is a good book, reproducing Jiao Yulu's brilliant image and giving wide publicity to his noble spirit. Its publication has won the solicitude of central leading comrades and the support of all circles in society and is warmly received by the masses of the people. It is by no means accidental that *Jiao Yulu* has received so much attention because it reflects the wishes of the people and the call of the times.

The authors of this book are comrades who work where Jiao gave his life. Cherishing the strong feelings of longing and respect, they have written moving chapters about how Jiao Yulu grew from a poor boy into a fine cadre of the Communist Party, eulogizing their secretary's heroic and moving deeds. There are no amazing descriptions in the book, which is filled with rich local

flavors. It is simple, unaffected, and true, just like the broad, level central China plain and the straight, sturdy paulownia trees growing on the vast land. However, it is filled between the lines with power tugging at people's heartstrings. After reading the book, people are so moved that they ponder it for a long time, fervently calling for Jiao Yulu's spirit from the bottom of their hearts. Indeed, people have a great need for good cadres of the Jiao Yulu type.

After joining the revolution, Jiao Yulu "had only one demand for the work, that is, to go where conditions were hard." He had a famous saying that contained a profound philosophical truth: "A steamed bun that has been chewed by others is tasteless." For this reason, in spite of ill health, he went deep among the masses to conduct investigations and study. Braving the winds, he asked old peasants for ways to seal sand dunes, and, braving the rains, he inspected the direction of flood flows, thus having a say in and obtaining the power of leadership in controlling "three vices." Upright and honest in performing his official duties, Jiao Yulu allowed neither his daughter to choose a work post nor his nephew to find jobs through the back door. Even when rushing about in the fields on hot summer days, he paid from his own pocket for the slice of watermelon he ate with production teams. What is most touching is the descriptions of Jiao's flesh-and-blood relationship with the masses of the people. On a bitterly cold winter day he instructed the cadres of the county party committee, saying, "When heavy snows seal doors, we should not sit in offices, warming ourselves by a fire, but should go among the masses. Communist Party members should appear before the masses when the latter are in the greatest difficulties." Braving the snows, he went to the rural areas at the head of a team and, pulling a rubber-wheeled cart fully loaded with disaster relief goods, he went from one village to another visiting people at their homes. He entered a cottage and saw two old people enjoying the five guarantees [food, clothing, medical care, housing, and burial expenses]. When asked who he was by the blind old granny, Jiao Yulu said aloud, "I am your son. Chairman Mao has asked me to come to see you." These caring words lightened the old people's eyes and warmed their hearts. At a worksite where people were combating alkalinity, his eyes were moist with tears when he heard an old peasant saying that people only had seven liang of grain a day. He said, "Uncle, it is because I haven't done my job well that folks go hungry." His intimate love for the people and his good sense of responsibility moved people to tears. These records of Secretary Jiao's contributions in wholeheartedly serving the people indicate the people's praise and longing. This is the party's valuable treasure. The strength of fine example has turned Jiao Yulu's spirit into a tremendous spiritual force for the broad masses of the people to rely on in their own efforts to change the outlook of poverty and backwardness.

In our cause, we need thousands upon thousands of good cadres of the Jiao Yulu type. The people's call for Jiao

Yulu is precisely an ardent call for the party's fine traditions and a criticism and a castigation of unhealthy tendencies. Literature in the new period should reflect the people's different emotions and shoulder the sacred duty of "serving the people and socialism." The "Jiao Yulu" production team from the Kaifeng City CPC Committee has made great efforts to dedicate Secretary Jiao, whom the people look to and cherish, to the readers and the times. They have done a very significant job. Their creative practice proves that, so long as we proceed from the people's need and stretch our artistic feelers deep into the broad social life, we shall be able to create artistic works loved by the people. It should be pointed out that because the authors paid attention to the efficacy of the work, they did not work at it with sufficient care.

The "Jiao Yulu phenomenon" characterized by many readers' avid desire to read *Jiao Yulu* is a good omen. The vast numbers of readers have full reason to heighten their confidence and see the new inspiring atmosphere of improving party style and closer ties between cadres and the masses.

#### QIUSHI Convenes the 1990 Liaison Personnel Meeting

HK2909082690 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH] in Chinese No 17, 1 Sep 90 p 48

[Article by QIUSHI reporter]

[Text] The journal QIUSHI convened its liaison personnel meeting in Taiyuan between 14 and 17 August. The central topic on the agenda of the recent meeting was to earnestly review QIUSHI's work since it has been under the charge of the Central Committee, and to study and explore how to run the journal better based on the central spirit of linking to realities.

Participating in the meeting were 70-some delegates from various provinces, municipalities, autonomous regions, and Chongqing, Wuhan, Guangzhou, and Shenzhen, as well as the liaison officer, assistant to the liaison officer, and circulation assistant from the Chinese People's Liberation Army General Political Department. QIUSHI editorial committee members and responsible persons of various editorial sections attended the meeting.

Comrade Wang Renzhi, director of the Central Committee Propaganda Department, attended the meeting and delivered an important speech in which he first fully approved of QIUSHI's work in the year since it has been under the charge of the Central Committee. Then he stressed the utter importance of theoretical work in light of the new external and internal conditions and problems, and proposed the following tasks in theoretical study and propaganda: 1) To augment study and propaganda on scientific socialism. He stated that, in viewing the general trend of socialism replacing capitalism, attention should be paid to grasping the following points in methodology: The issue should be observed in the long

river of historical evolution, on the scope of the whole world, in the concept of comprehensive development, and in the viewpoint and approach of class struggle and class analysis. 2) To augment theoretical study and propaganda on economic construction, improvement, rectification, and deepening reform. He pointed out the need to make in-depth study on the following issues: how to change the problem of leaning toward the individual in distribution of the national income; how to handle well the relationship between centralization and decentralization; how to realize readjustment in the industrial setup; how to complete and perfect contracted responsibility with enterprises; how to reform irrational prices; how to resolve the work wage problem; and how to specifically and appropriately realize the combination of a planned economy with market regulation. 3) To firmly adhere to the four cardinal principles and to resolutely oppose bourgeois liberalization. Comrade Wang Renzhi stated that we have made some criticism of bourgeois liberalization, but that is not enough, and work in this arena must be augmented. Only by resolutely opposing bourgeois liberalization will it be possible to consolidate and guarantee political stability. The greatest instability over the past few years has been bourgeois liberalization; on this point we must have a sober understanding. In conclusion, he pointed out that to realize the above-mentioned tasks, it is imperative to organize and to strengthen the rank and file of theoretical work, to give play to the enthusiasm of all sectors, and to unite all people that can be united. The journal QIUSHI and its liaison men should play an active role in this arena.

Shanxi Provincial CPC Committee Secretary Li Ligong, Deputy Secretary Wang Maolin, and Zhang Weiqing, its Standing Committee member and concurrently Shanxi Provincial CPC Committee Propaganda Department director, attended the meeting. On behalf of the Shanxi Provincial CPC Committee, Comrade Li Ligong extended a warm welcome to the participants of the meeting. He said QIUSHI is a theoretical journal of the Central Committee. It has done voluminous work in propagating Marxism-Leninism as well as the party's line, principles, and policies, and is greatly needed for our practical work. The fact that QIUSHI convenes its liaison personnel meeting in Shanxi will be a powerful stimulation to the cadres, party members and organizations, and the masses in their theoretical study and

research in the province. He hoped that QIUSHI will play a greater role on the theoretical front from now on.

Comrade You Lin [2589 2651], QIUSHI's chief editor, delivered a report on the journal's work over the past year. He said the fact that the Central Committee decided that QIUSHI was to be run by the Central Committee and the explicit fact that it is a theoretical journal of the Central Committee have determined the nature, place, role, and tasks of this journal as well as its guiding idea and editorial principle. Generally speaking, QIUSHI must boast a high level of party spirit, act firmly as the party's mouthpiece, and maintain a high level of unanimity with the Central Committee. Specifically, it must propagate the party's basic line of "one center, two basic points," its principle, policies, and important decisionmaking in their integrity with accuracy. Propaganda on economic construction should be placed at the center. The propaganda on reform and opening up as well as adherence to the four cardinal principles must be augmented. The fight against bourgeois liberalization must be carried out with a clear-cut stand, in depth, and persistently, while weeding out all kinds of erroneous theoretical views that serve as a basis for bourgeois liberalization. QIUSHI has worked hard to unfold its work based on this correct guiding idea and editorial principle set by the Central Committee. Comrade You Lin also summed up the experiences in doing a good job in theoretical and propaganda work through running the journal over the past year: 1) Theoretical and propaganda work must serve stability, unity, and bracing up, and adhere to the principle of positive propaganda. 2) A good job must be done in handling well the relationship between guidance and exploration, and in the party's principle of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend." 3) Propaganda of the party's line, principles, and policies must be complete and accurate, while being active and creative. In his speech, Comrade You Lin also mentioned the conception of the main points in propaganda, the work of the liaison personnel, and circulation work for the next year.

Participants at the meeting engaged in warm and earnest discussions, and made many good suggestions on how to further create a new situation, to better fulfill QIUSHI's mission as a theoretical journal of the Central Committee.

On 17 August, Comrade Wu Jianguo [0702 1696 0948], QIUSHI's deputy chief editor, summed up the meeting at its concluding ceremony.

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